

WINTER, 1961

RELIGION IN LIFE

Reg. U. S. Pat. Off.

A Christian Quarterly

OF OPINION AND DISCUSSION

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VOLUME XXXI

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RELIGION IN LIFE

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Winter, 1961-62

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Editorial

A promotional piece comes across the pastor's desk with the title: "How are you using your laymen?" The intent of the piece is to be helpful.

A layman who feels "used up" already seeks out the local church as a last resort. Too often his first church experience is much like a peek into the glass face of a working automatic washer—frantic sudsing activity!

Since both pastor and layman have usually been through the wash cycle already, and have been spun dry, there is often a positive result. They sit down and *confess to each other* a need for big questions, for more study, for redemptive worship, and for critical judgment. From such man-to-man talks a renaissance has begun in many a local church. Which is to say that the big questions actively before the church today have come from local situations as often as they have come from academic seminaries and university departments dealing with religious sociology. These big issues include a need for a doctrine of the church in much of Protestantism, a study of the concept of the lay ministry, and, the other side of this last coin, a study of the meaning of ordination.

The symposium in this issue of *RELIGION IN LIFE* concerns itself with the lay renaissance springing quite often from the experience described above. While much of the renaissance is outside of the official program activities of the denominations, participants are members of the church and in this sense *are* the church.

Clergy who feel "imprisoned by church administration" make no Christian escape by imprisoning laymen in their stead. There is one ministry and one mission. The questions concerning the lay ministry are being raised for the most part in centers outside of the "Sunday-morning church." Too often in the history of the faith good lay movements have themselves been institutionalized into a priesthood or "called out" group. One hopes for the day to come when we will no longer need lay centers, when the local church itself can be such a renewal center, when the church's ministry will be laymen and clergy ministering to one another, and together in the world in the name of the gospel.

J. O. M.

The Lay Renaissance

I. The Lay Renaissance Reaches North America

JULIA A. LACY

AN EXCITING contemporary movement is bringing new life to the Christian church. Its influence is felt to some extent on every continent, and it is rapidly becoming a force in Canada and the United States. Known as the "Lay Renaissance," it amounts to the rebirth of awakened lay Christians, the rediscovery of their unique ministry to the world, and the revolution this is bringing about in our understanding of what the church itself is.

The Lay Renaissance is not the same thing as the much-discussed religious revival in the United States. They are markedly different in their relationships to secular culture, the institutional church, the Christian heritage, and personal life. But the greatest contrast appears in relation to our present moral crisis.

Many have noted the discrepancy between religious revival on the one hand and moral decay on the other. In the words of President Henry P. Van Dusen of Union Seminary: "The 'revival of religion' has, thus far, been paralleled by no corresponding resurgence or recovery of morality. Just here is the most disturbing, confounding contradiction of our present moral and spiritual situation."

In attempting to account for this contradiction, the sociologist-theologian Will Herberg maintains that what we have under way today is not one religious revival but two, and that neither of these revivals can be expected to bring order out of our present moral confusion. A brief look at his analysis will help us to see the contrast between this twofold revival and the morally serious Lay Renaissance.¹

Dr. Herberg points first to the mass phenomenon which has swelled

¹ The following report of Dr. Herberg's analysis is based on his article "Religious Revival and Moral Crisis" in the *Union Seminary Quarterly Review*, March, 1960.

While editor of *The Chaplain*, JULIA A. LACY devoted a great deal of time and thought to the theme of Christian vocation and "the ministry of the laity." In the past year she has visited most of the lay centers in the United States, and this article is adapted from a projected book which will study their purpose and their work. She is now serving on the National Council of Churches' special committee on the laity.

the rolls of our churches and which he calls "the sociological revival of religion as belonging." In a fluid and mobile society, he says, religious identification helps us to answer the questions: "What am I?" "What is he?" Earlier definitions of identity (in terms of national origin, regional residence, etc.) have been giving way to a "tripartite religious belonging—Protestant, Catholic, Jew." Religious identification has become "the culturally appropriate way of defining one's identity as an American under contemporary American conditions," and it is one of the chief factors in the current revival. We should not be surprised, therefore, to find that religion on this level lacks serious religious and moral content. In fact, it may "serve its sociological function better the more vacuous and contentless it is."

In the following articles in this RELIGION IN LIFE discussion we shall see an utterly different spirit at work where Christian men, women, and young people are recovering the content of the Christian faith and working out its moral implications for "a Christian style of life."

Let us follow the contrast further. Still speaking of the mass phenomenon, Dr. Herberg says that this religion of belonging corresponds not only to the need for *personal* identification but also the need for *social* identification—the anxious search for "togetherness" that has become so pervasive in our culture. He sees Americans undergoing a profound change: "A culture which prized self-reliance, achievement, and the resolute pursuit of personally affirmed goals or ideals, all summed up in the magic words 'character' and 'conscience,' is rapidly giving way to a culture in which the highest good is sociability, adjustment, and 'getting along with people.'"

For the ethic of sociability, the ideal is not the "good man" but the "good fellow." It is opposed at every point both to the Greek ethic of virtue and the Hebrew ethic of responsibility. No wonder, then, that the religion of togetherness can go hand in hand with moral decay.

Again we shall see in the articles that follow a wholesome reaction against the trend here described. We shall find a recovered ethic of responsibility illustrated in various centers of the new awakening, where Christians define their identity as people called by God to service, and where they identify themselves with God's good purpose for all mankind.

A third comparison of the Lay Renaissance with this analysis of the current revival will show similarity as well as contrast. Dr. Herberg goes on to describe a second kind of religious revival, which runs across and even counter to the mass phenomenon already noted. This is "a religious movement that goes deeper, and gains its strength from the primordial quest

for self-understanding and meaning in life." Found primarily on college campuses and in some suburban communities, it "aspires to authenticity of being and regards conformity and adjustment as the deepest perils to the self." Obviously, this second kind of revival does not share the moral superficiality of the first. It is impatient with all that is imitative and external. It digs for deeper foundations than custom or convention. Yet, despite the possibility that this radical skepticism may lead to a morality that is higher because it is inward, the fact remains that "with existential self-search comes something very close to moral chaos."

Now the Lay Renaissance has its own forms of radical search, but self-understanding is less an object of search than the base for exploration. With a new self-understanding as the *laos* ("the people" of God), Christians are rediscovering that *they* are the church, clergy and laity together—not a building, or a hierarchy, or an organization, but "the company of all faithful people." And with this self-understanding has come a new sense of mission and responsibility. Feeling called by God to *be* the church wherever they are in the world, lay men and women are probing deeply the Christian message and its relevance to all the forms and issues of modern life. Real pioneering is taking place. At some centers of lay training the search for meaning is as persistent as anything to be found in the context of the "second revival." However, the result is not moral chaos but moral recovery, as may be seen in the acceptance of personal discipline and in the sense of Christian vocation in the ordinary occupations of everyday life.

If we ask where this movement came from, we shall find that its sources are various and world wide, with the chief impetus coming from creative lay centers, orders, and institutes in western Europe—experiments that have multiplied since World War II in the effort to supplement traditional patterns of congregational life.

Since the nineteenth century American Christianity has been the most active Christianity in the world in terms of lay participation; yet the new awakening in this country is new in kind. Whereas the older lay movements were chiefly auxiliaries of the institutional church, the new movement is the church itself moving out of its institutional walls to live for Christ wherever Christian people work and live. Although no date can be given to any breath of God's Spirit blowing over a continent, we can say that only in the last few years has this breath approached the mighty wind of Pentecost. Its history lies chiefly in tomorrow. Then perhaps we shall see it as a *third* religious revival—the real one, able to redeem the other two.

"I would rather be living during the next twenty-five years than during

any period in the history of the world." The words are those of Dr. E. Stanley Jones, veteran missionary-evangelist, when predicting recently that the next great spiritual revival would come through Christian laymen.

If the awakening is new, however, its characteristic themes are old. They go back to Old Testament thought about the call of God and the people of God, and to New Testament teaching about Christ as the Servant-Lord, about the church as the body of Christ, about the varied ministries (forms of service) of all its members, and about their mission *to the world* ("As thou didst send me into the world, so I have sent them into the world").

Back of our current preoccupation with these themes lies an interesting development of ideas, prompted by the crises of recent history. An international, interchurch conversation has been going on, especially since 1937, about the *role* of laymen in the church, the *work* of laymen in the world, and their need for *training* in order to fill that role and do that work. Concern about the role of the layman is not a concern for status—though status is involved. It is rather a concern that the church's structure shall conform to the church's mission; a realization that the church's mission is primarily not to herself but to the world; and a suspicion that the traditional clergy-laity distinction interferes with the layman's God-appointed role as a minister to that outside world, where most of his life is spent.²

Let us see how this line of thought has developed.

In 1937 a great conference at Oxford, England, took as its theme "Church, Community, and State." It was a conference of the Life and Work Movement, which later joined with the Faith and Order Movement to form the World Council of Churches. In discussing this theme the clergy were joined by laymen who were actively engaged in the life of community and state. *They* were the experts in these fields, and they were the Christians struggling to make a Christian witness there. It was evident that these dedicated laymen were fully mature partners of the clergy. And in this connection the role of the layman first came under discussion in the movement.

Before and after this conference the German church struggle under Hitler brought community and state into the foreground as arenas where Christian decisions and a costly witness must be made. At the same time, laymen came to the rescue of the churches whose regular ministers had been imprisoned or removed. By this experience their eyes were opened to the famous twelfth chapter of First Corinthians, where Paul speaks of diversities

² For a development of these ideas, see Arnold B. Come, *Agents of Reconciliation* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960).

of service and gifts in the church, not limiting the ministry to apostles and preachers.

After the war it was crucially important to conserve this growing maturity of the laity. A step in that direction was taken when in 1946 the "World Council of Churches in process of formation" established the Ecumenical Institute at Chateau de Bossey near Geneva, Switzerland. Its first director, Dr. Hendrik Kraemer, says that originally this was a conscious attempt to strengthen and develop the lay contribution awakened during the war and to give it deeper bases and wider horizons.

When the World Council of Churches finally came into being at Amsterdam in 1948, it set up a Commission on the Significance of the Laity in the Church. This was followed by a secretariat for the work of the laity, which organized laymen's conferences at Bad Boll, Germany, in 1951 and Buffalo, New York, in 1952.

By the time the World Council held its Second Assembly, at Evanston, Illinois, in 1954, it was ready to establish a permanent Department on the Laity, which in succeeding years has served all churches as a center of information, reflection, and stimulation on questions concerning the role and work of laymen.

Now beginning with the Evanston Assembly, we can trace a most significant back-and-forth discussion which leads from concern with the *role and work* of laymen to recognition of the need for adequate *training*. In this discussion you will hear some of the biblical themes noted above and many of the leading motifs of the Lay Renaissance.

A section of the Evanston Report called "The Laity—the Christian in His Vocation" contains these memorable and often quoted words: "The real battles of the faith today are being fought in factories, shops, offices, and farms, in political parties and government agencies, in countless homes, in the press, radio, and television, in the relationship of nations. Very often it is said that the Church should 'go into these spheres'; but the fact is that the Church *is* already in these spheres in the persons of its laity."

Two years later, at a meeting in Galyateto, Hungary, the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches commended to the member churches a statement entitled "The Ministry of the Laity in the World." This now-famous document, after referring to the Evanston Report, says: "There is nothing new in this conception—for our Lord said, 'Ye are the salt of *the earth*'—but it is a truth which has been obscured over many periods of the church's life." Then it captured the imagination of many

people in what it said about *salt*, about *assembling and scattering*, and about *the need to listen*. Here is the portion containing these fruitful ideas:

The salt fulfills its function only if, after having been assembled and cleansed, it is scattered again to be dissolved. Likewise the Church lives by a process of assembling and scattering. It is brought together from all peoples, occupations and groups for worship and for other recognizable "organized activities." It is scattered as its members, and predominantly its lay members, disperse themselves in the life of the world. As salt fulfills its function only when scattered and dissolved, so an indispensable part of the ministry of the Church is exercised when the Church is in its scattered phase. This process of withdrawal and return, of being assembled and being scattered, is not accidental but essential to the Church's life. . . .

One of the main tasks of the Church, when it assembles its scattered members, is to listen to them speaking of their trials and difficulties, hopes and fears, opportunities and needs, and even simply about the facts of life in the world. The assembled Church cannot become a teaching Church until it listens. We urgently need a Church that will teach out of the experience of listening.

In the same year another step was taken in this continuing conversation when Dr. Hans-Ruedi Weber questioned the realism of the Evanston statement:

Is it realistic to say that the Church *is* in its laity fully in those spheres of the world (factories, shops, political parties, government agencies, etc.) where the real battles of the faith are being fought to-day? Is it not rather true that laymen and laywomen become gradually absorbed by the world because they conform to the spirit, the criteria, the hopes of this world? Do not most of the Church-members live a schizophrenic life having two different sets of ethics, one for the private Sunday life and the other for their behaviour in the workaday world? Does the Christian remnant really *live* in the world to function there as the salt of the earth? Or does it not rather stand aloof from the battlefield?³

In answer to these questions, emphatic agreement was given by Dr. Hendrik Kraemer in 1958:

I would even assert that the laity, generally speaking, feels itself spiritually powerless and illiterate as to its witness in that sector, which is the very place where most of its life is spent. This is the appalling problem, hidden by the fact that this laity, impotent and paralysed in the most strategic region of their life, are often faithful worshippers and do all kinds of service in the ordinary run of Church life. The problem is still more appalling because the relevancy of the Church, and what she represents in the modern world, is dependent on the conversion of this impotence and paralysis into a manifestation of power and spirit.⁴

The upshot of this discussion, and its inevitable conclusion, is that lay Christians need special training if they are not to fail in their crucial mission. Many have come to see this problem as a burning issue demanding action.

³ *Signs of Renewal* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1956-57), p. 59.

⁴ *A Theology of the Laity* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1958), pp. 37-38.

And, as a matter of fact, while this discussion was going on, and even before, lay training centers were springing up to meet the need.⁵

Among the most influential are the German "evangelical academies." The first one was established at Bad Boll, near Stuttgart, in 1945 by a chaplain returning from the Russian front. In the broken postwar world he was determined to reach the laity in a way that the formal church did not do, and to help them make Christianity more meaningful and effective in the national life. The idea spread quickly to other communities, so that today there are eighteen academies in Germany, some of them in the Eastern Zone.

The word "academy" is not used in the modern sense of a school or a society of learned men but in the Platonic sense of a place for the free exchange of ideas. These centers provide opportunities for people to discuss common problems in an atmosphere of great openness and, at the same time, of religious concern.

Centers for Christian community life and lay training have risen in many other countries of western Europe, including the British Isles. Some of them, like Scotland's Iona Community, were established earlier than the evangelical academies. Others are very recent. Now there are more than sixty European centers united in their common aim "to serve the present age."

The lay-center approach to Christian education and Christian penetration of the world is, of course, only one approach to these Christian tasks. And it is only one manifestation of the Lay Renaissance, which is beginning to revitalize various campus ministries, denominational and interdenominational programs, and nondenominational lay movements. But it is an approach that has caught the imagination of many people, and now lay centers are spreading rapidly outside Europe.

Institutes have been set up on this pattern in South Africa, Ghana, Nigeria, Northern Rhodesia, Hong Kong, Japan, Korea, and India.

The United Church of Canada has four major centers with some spiritual kinship to the European experiments. These are the Prairie Christian Training Center, at Fort Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan; the Five Oaks Christian Workers Center, at Paris, Ontario; the Atlantic Christian Training Center, at Tatamagouche, Nova Scotia; and the Christian Leadership Training School, at Naramata, British Columbia. Still in process of

⁵ For a superb account of this development, see Franklin H. Littell, *The German Phoenix* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1960). A briefer report appears in Margaret Frakes, *Bridges to Understanding* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1960).

construction is the House of the Four Seasons, near Gore's Landing, Ontario, which is a lay center owned and operated by the men of Peterborough Presbytery of the United Church of Canada. Now the Presbyterian Church of Canada is moving ahead with plans for a center in the beautiful Caledon Hills area northwest of Toronto. Meanwhile an imaginative program is being conducted in a nearby farmhouse. The Anglican Church is conducting a significant conference center at Aurora, Ontario.

In the United States the same ferment is at work, with new permanent lay centers arising each year and numerous "floating institutes" conducted by denominations, such as the Faith and Life Institutes of the United Lutheran Church in America. Some thirty permanent centers have been represented in the annual meetings of the American association of directors of lay centers, known as the "Columbus Group"—and more are eligible for representation. Two of our most influential centers—Pendle Hill and Kirkridge—antedate the development on the continent of Europe. Yet at Kirkridge especially, and at most of the American centers, influence is felt from across the Atlantic. Moreover, cross-fertilization is taking place as leaders visit back and forth, so that the American experience is making its influence felt abroad.

The later articles in the present symposium tell something of the story of what is going on in lay movements and activities, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, that are clearly stamped with the spirit and marks of the Lay Renaissance.

These marks, as we have seen, are a *moral seriousness* that distinguishes the Lay Renaissance from the current religious revival; a *recovery of biblical teaching* about the calling of God (Christian vocation), the people of God (clergy and laity together), the varied forms of ministry (witness and service), whereby a servant people follow their Servant-Lord into the world (mission); and, finally, a *concern for training* to enable the layman to live up to this biblical teaching about his *role* and his *work*.

2. Protestant Lay Centers in America

CAMERON P. HALL

ONE of the most encouraging aspects of the church's life today is its exploration into the role of its lay people. This has an exciting quality to it. It is pioneering in spirit; it carries a challenge to conventional views of the church and the pattern of its life.

In large measure what are called "lay centers" are on the cutting edge of this rediscovery of its laity by the church. They are out front in much that is being done and imagined. To be sure, it would be an exaggeration to equate these centers with the frontier of today's lay movement; but it is valid to claim that wherever that frontier is, these centers are there.

What is a lay center? It is somewhat easy to describe it negatively. It is not a school for theological and biblical teaching to laymen. It is not a facility for such lay activities as retreats, conferences, and similar meetings, as these are presently understood. A lay center is not a special resource of the churches to train their lay people for positions as teachers and officers in the local church. Nor is it a program of occasional meetings of lay people for inspiration, prayer, and fellowship. Something of each of these is present in a lay center, but each of these can and does exist without forming a lay center.

Positively, one could easily describe any *one* center. But of the twenty-five or more of them across the country it is neither possible nor profitable to attempt more than a preliminary sketch in broad outlines. Why should this be so? Their newness is part of the answer. They are post-World War II, and most began in the 1950's. But this answer does not go deep enough. Largely because their mood is vigorously searching and experimental they do not lend themselves to easy description. In what they are doing and hope to do they are essentially of the spirit. Against their relative lack of tradition and development, they are still predominantly in the making. This gives them a quality of fluidity, tentativeness, dynamic growth.

Indeed, their questions and probings are most creative often in respect

CAMERON P. HALL is Executive Director of the Department of Church and Economic Life of the National Council of Churches. In this position he has been in close touch with the lay center development in this country, and in this article he gives an over-all view of the nature and significance of the Protestant centers in North America.

to many of the assumptions that underlie what they are doing. What view of the church lies—or should lie—behind its concern for the laity in the world? How are lay people “trained” for their ministry in the world? How are clergy and laity related in the full ministry of the church? What is the relation of worship to living in obedience to God in one’s occupation and citizenship? Answers to questions of this kind are being forged in the experimental character of what a lay center is doing.

The lay centers share a strong concern for the renewal of the church. This requires that the church regain within its total ministry the ministry of the laity in the world. The centers go on to emphasize the primary importance of the church’s recognition of the involvement of the laity in the world. This emphasis finds wide but not universal acceptance in the ecumenical church. But what is both common to and distinctive of the lay centers is their conviction that this is so vital and urgent that something must be done, now and drastically. The lay centers are in fact a form of action-response to God’s call to the church to become alive for Christ in the lives of men today.

Is there in the very existence of lay centers a form of criticism of the churches? To this observer that is one way these centers should be understood. Among many of their ablest leaders there is impatience and a troubled spirit about the churches and their lay people. There is a widespread feeling that what the churches teach about the Christian faith is superficial; that what they interpret as the claims of Christ upon his followers today is irrelevant; that the churches and their professional leaders have lost the capacity to provide help for their members in respect to the critical issues which they daily confront. This list could easily be extended.

But I suggest that several points need to be held in mind in regard to the strong stream of criticism of the churches that flows through the life of the lay center leadership. The centers are led and supported by persons who are deeply committed to and active in the churches, locally as well as elsewhere. Again, lay centers are efforts to provide constructive criticism. Then too, the mood of the lay centers is not that they sit in judgment upon the church but rather that they are with the church in its search for a worthy response to God’s judgment upon it.

I

Acknowledgment should be made of the debt which our lay centers owe to those in Great Britain and on the Continent. In our early beginnings these overseas centers provided inspiration and counsel. From their leaders,

experience, and programs our leaders gained much. For example, Kirkridge in Pennsylvania reflects the influence of the Iona Community in Scotland. Parishfield has benefited by long visits from several members of the staff of the Ecumenical Institute of the World Council of Churches in Bossey, Switzerland. The relationship of the Christian Faith and Life Community in Austin with Bossey has also been close. The antecedents of our Ecumenical Institute in Evanston are apparent.

The Detroit Industrial Mission has drawn particular inspiration from the Sheffield Mission in England; its first associate director is an American clergyman who for several years worked in Sheffield under Canon (now Bishop) Ted Wickham. The Academy movement of the Evangelical Church in Germany has had a wide influence among our lay centers and church leaders. This influence is particularly evident in the Institute of Church and Community of the Hartford Theological Seminary. Its founder and director is a Lutheran layman who spent several years on the staff of the Bad Boll Evangelical Academy.

The relationship between the centers here and those abroad continues to grow. But it has undergone a significant change. Our centers have generally absorbed what these earlier ones had to give out of their past experience. Now it is a matter of each sharing with the other its present experience. Whether they learn from us as much as we are still learning from them is not for us to say. But at least now we can share with them the problems, mistakes, and achievements of lay centers which are developing in light of the needs and opportunities of the American scene to which our laymen must relate their Christian faith. Today the ecumenical church has lay centers here, as earlier it had them only in Great Britain and on the Continent.

II

Lay centers afford a striking example of the decisive role of leadership by a single individual. That center is the exception which has not come into being and grown largely because of the vision, dedication, and ability of one person, usually a clergyman. Emerson's dictum that every institution is the shadow of an individual applies here. But with the lay centers one does not have to go back a century or, indeed, hardly more than a decade. Perhaps some future historian may point to the 1950's as the decade of the rise of the lay center. Like their counterparts abroad, the founders are largely still at the helm. For their centers to stay alive, much less to prosper, these men faced difficulties, discouragements, and road-blocks which, humanly speaking, were insurmountable. But this movement has been not of the human spirit

but of the Holy Spirit. It is my observation that among the great doctrines of the Christian church that of the Holy Spirit may be more evident in this movement than perhaps anywhere else in our churches.

To become specific about what these centers are is to court difficulty because of the variations and outright exceptions to whatever is stated. What is the size of the professional staff? From one to thirteen, the latter being found at the Christian Faith and Life Community in Austin. Where are they located? Various: Parishfield in the open country; Packard Manse in a suburb; Thompson House in a city. What buildings do they have? From one to three (Austin again has the largest number); but the Detroit Industrial Mission, like a few others, has no residence, only an office. What facilities are available? Sleeping accommodations for between fifteen to thirty is the average number. Meals are served, and there are rooms for the general group and smaller group meetings. Always a room has been made over to serve as a chapel.

Under what sponsorship do the centers operate? It is of two kinds. A substantial minority are related to a denomination; among these the Protestant Episcopal Church has the greatest number. As with all pioneering movements these centers require and receive a wide measure of freedom. But the greater number are unrelated to any ecclesiastical body or agency. They are independent and voluntary. Responsibility for them rests with a board of directors whose members themselves serve out of a sense of their responsibility toward the mission of the church.

How are the centers supported? Those which are church-related may have a larger proportion of their income from church sources, but for none is this more than a small proportion of what they need. They all must depend upon contributions from individuals, foundations, and other voluntary contributors. Fund raising is a major activity, as well as a burden, of the director.

From this summary of some of the specifics of the centers as a whole, their diversity within what they are and have in common becomes sharp and clear. Illustrations of this diversity could be multiplied. One center—Community of St. Martha—is an all-woman center; another—Packard Manse—emphasizes Protestant-Catholic relationships. Some are more advanced and matured than others. Many show the stamp of their founder and director. Nor is the geographical factor to be ignored.

To me, this diversity, joined with their experimental character, makes up much of the significance and promise of these centers. At this stage in the exploration of the implications of the role of the laity in the mission

and ministry of the church, diversity and tentativeness within a basic common orientation is reassuring.

III

In turning to some of the main activities and program elements generally common to all centers, I begin with two matters that only in part can be classified as program elements; they are rather distinctive characteristics of each center. They account as much for the atmosphere of a center as for its program.

Discipline is one of these marks. It is assumed as often as it is spoken of. Its meaning and practice is held to be central to what a center is. Where Christianity is viewed as essentially obedience to Christ in the living of life, discipline is its other side (note the origin and spelling of "discipline" and "disciple"). Even when groups come for a brief period, the more sensitive ones sense that those present—staff and visitors—are both experiencing discipline and learning to live under it. In at least a few centers there is an expectation that their "alumni" will continue to share a measure of disciplined living.

But whence comes the substance and reality of the discipline that marks the centers? It rests, I believe, in the discipline under which the staff members place themselves. Through this, discipline enters as a reality throughout the life and program of the center. There is also a symbolic or representative quality to what the staff members—individually and corporately—do by way of self and group discipline.

Even in a center such as the Detroit Industrial Mission, which lacks residence facilities for either staff or visitors, there is a conscious and vital corporate discipline on the part of the leadership. And where there are residences, the discipline of the "staff family" includes common acts by the families of the individual staff members, such as common acts of worship. It may perhaps not be too much to suggest that by and large lay centers are "communities of Christian discipline."

A second matter which is both a distinctive characteristic and a common program element is the focus on the involvement of lay people in the world of occupations and citizenship. This orientation pervades all that is done. When the group visiting the center are all clergymen—as is growingly the case—the concern is largely how the ministry of the clergy can inspire and support the ministry of the laity in the world. When lay groups are engaged with theological or biblical subjects, the concern is to relate these to the situations and decisions which lay people meet in the world. When the church itself is under discussion, her confrontation with the world, and not

her institutional needs, is the emphasis. When a group is made up of lay people from various walks of life, the discussion directly or indirectly will be a search for the kind of questions which today's world raises for Christians and a quest for the guideposts for a Christian in learning the answer that God has for him.

This over-all emphasis upon the involvement of lay people in the world leads to a program emphasis upon lay people of similar and related occupations meeting together. Here they probe into today's occupational life as they know it daily and into the nature of their responsibilities toward its claims and practices. The program of the center at Hartford consists entirely of occupational groups; at Parishfield and a majority of others it is the dominant pattern. Where this pattern is still relatively minor, the intention is to move further in this direction.

Certain program elements also are found throughout the centers, with a wide range of variations within what is common to them. I begin with worship. This is at the heart of each center. Worship is seen as the most vital need of men before God. The mode of the expression of their worship reflects the most thorough and creative effort of many centers.

Worship takes place each morning and evening. While the service may be simple and informal, it is far more apt to be liturgical. At one center a liturgy used in today's churches has been adapted; at another center the form is its own, evolved after extensive probing into the meaning of worship and its appropriate forms. Still another center goes far back into the period of the early fathers of the Christian church. In addition to these main occasions of worship some centers have brief, others more extended, times of worship and meditation at meals. These times may lift up the sacramental view of life and one's solidarity, under God's love, with all men in their need, as experienced in the taking of each meal.

Bible study is a second major program element. In a few instances it may tend to be formal, verging on being a "curriculum"; but more commonly it is informal. The controlling concern is to discover what God is saying to men in and through the Bible about their responsibility in the situation in which they live. Along with this there is continuing interest in learning ways by which lay people may come to know the Bible as a life-probing and life-empowering book. Apart from times specially designated as "Bible study," the relevance of the Bible is explored in periods of general discussion on problems and situations of laymen—occupational, family, leisure time, citizenship.

This leads into another program element: discussion. Time-wise, this

looms large. The emphasis is upon maximum participation of the lay people themselves. And since the leaders of the centers are largely clergymen, clerical restraint from undue teaching and "preachments" can be a continuing test of self-discipline.

Fellowship is not a program element in itself, since it cannot be scheduled as the others. But it is a common objective among the centers, and is an element *within* all their program elements. The setting of the centers, the intimacy due to the smallness of the groups, the opportunities afforded for casualness and spontaneity in the free times and the times between the sessions are conducive to meaningful relationships. It is interesting to speculate on what effect the fact that, apart from the few on the center's staff, all present are lay people may have on the fellowship.

While not strictly a program element, the issuance of some kind of a news sheet is a characteristic center activity. The variety, here as elsewhere, is wide: at one end, one sheet, mimeographed on both sides; at the other extreme, eight pages, printed with pictures. The main ingredients are reporting and interpretation. All carry news of the center's events and a brief message or other piece from the leadership; the more expansive ones carry one or more articles or "specials." The names on the masthead of some are of interest. To pick at random a few from my files: *The Tempo at Thompson House*; *Sword and Shield* (Parishfield); *Letter to Laymen* (Christian Faith and Life Community); *Yokefellow Associates*.

IV

What is the significance of the lay centers? What is the nature of their contribution? There is space for me to point only to two directions where an answer may lie: in meeting a need and in providing a new structure.

Lay centers are meeting a need among laity and clergy that is both implicit and explicit. I believe that if there were more such centers, this need would appear more widespread and urgent. The number of laymen is already large and growing who seek a Christian faith more meaningful and relevant for their life in today's world. At the same time similar concern for their church and its members is being expressed by many pastors. Both pastor and laymen acknowledge, in different ways, that the churches in general and their adult lay programs in particular are neither oriented or set up adequately to meet this need in its urgency and dimension.

Underlying this search for a new relationship of the Christian, and through him of the church to the world, two factors among others may be cited. One is the separation of the local church from vital areas of lay daily

experience. The local church tends to be imbedded in home and family life. When today's husband and father goes to work, he not only leaves home but usually the neighborhood too; and for vast numbers of the women who are today employed outside the home, this means outside the community as well. The other side of this geographical remoteness of the churches from today's centers of activity and decision is their aloofness from many of the more demanding pressures upon lay people.

A second factor is found in the growing uneasiness among lay people about the character and direction of modern life. There is a general mood of questioning the prevailing assumption that technology and affluence by themselves are enough. Beyond this general concern there is a sense that the ethical dimension of survival and getting ahead in earning one's living today has all but gotten out of hand. I quote the vice-president of a large national business enterprise who is also an active churchman because his words are typical of what many others are saying: "In the course of my business relationships I engage in more discussion of right and wrong attitudes and conduct in today's world than I find myself challenged to do in my church life."

Many lay people, as well as their pastors, are looking for something beyond what their churches can or have to offer. At this point I see the significance and challenge of the centers to the life of the church. On one level this issue can be put quite succinctly: The churches are offering answers to questions which lay people do not feel are the questions that come out of their own situation; while the questions posed in the lay centers are recognized as being relevant. But I believe the significance of the lay center lies upon a deeper level: The centers provide an opportunity for lay people themselves to come to understand and formulate the questions to which they should be seeking answers. The centers are a resource of the church in helping their lay people to discern, in the light of twentieth-century experience and of Christian faith, the questions to which they must give answer to God.

This leads to a second significant contribution of the lay center: *It is a new structure within the church.* For one thing, it is a listening structure. It provides a setting for the church to listen to its lay members talking out of and about their life in the world. In contrast to the local church, which is predominantly a speaking structure (teaching, preaching, counseling by the clergy), the lay center is a listening structure enabling the church to speak to the world through the words, deeds, and example of its laity.

But lay centers are also ecumenical structures. Qualifications of this

description, to be sure, may be quickly recognized: The voluntary and independent centers are strictly non- rather than interdenominational; the other centers exist through some kind of denominational sponsorship. But this is primarily a matter of form; their vision, thrust, and practice is ecumenical. The independent and the denominationally related both operate on a common assumption: The resources of the church for helping its laity in their ministry in the world must include a broader structure than either the local church or the denomination can provide.

The structural significance of the lay centers lies elsewhere as well. A layman has his membership in the local church; however, his ministry extends to wherever he goes in the world. But the structure of the church does not follow him in that direction. In earlier times this presented neither an issue or a need; the man's home, his world of daily experience, and his church were part of the same community. But today this is not the case. The lay center extends the structure of the church toward the world in which the layman lives and works. In addition, the lay center is in a stronger position than the local church to engage those with little or no church relationship in a serious conversation about their responsibilities in the world.

The churches—locally and denominationally—would seem to need what the lay centers are striving to provide. Today, on the one hand, through the writings, speeches, and conferences of its leaders, the church seeks a clearer understanding of what God has to say to it about its renewal and the ministry of the laity; on the other hand, leaders of the organized adult lay work of the churches ponder needed changes in methods, materials, and programs. At such a time the lay center is a needed addition to the total efforts of the church for renewal. The centers provide exploration in action in terms of new structures, settings, and programs.

What about the future of the lay centers? That they will change and develop is certain. This will be found in their basic concepts, their structures, their programs. Whether they will gain the added strength which many now need, and whether they will expand to meet the needs of the entire country, will depend largely on three factors: leadership that is able, imaginative, and committed; financial support, without which the movement could come to a halt; and sufficient freedom from institutional direction so that these centers can have room to pioneer, to experiment, to consolidate.

3. *The Role of a Church Renewal Center*

SAMUEL EMERICK

MANY authors have written about lay training centers, and I find that their writings are generally focused on the lay academies of the European setting. I too have been impressed by the facilities, staff, and program of the academies. All of us who have participated in their work feel amazed at their accomplishment in facing the situation in their nations and churches. Indeed, we who work in lay centers in this country are indebted to their leaders for the wisdom and generous guidance they have shared with us.

However, I am trying to show in this article what considerable study and four years of experience as a center's director have led me to believe are the peculiar tasks of a church renewal center in our North American setting. What are the unique ways in which it can serve the American churches and communities? Of course there are likenesses to the European academy; but our churches and our religious climate also have their peculiar needs to be served.

REAPPRAISAL OF THE CHURCH'S LIFE AND MISSION

Everywhere one looks in the life of America's religious communities he is confronted with the need for a reappraisal of the church's being and purpose. Fortunately, there is a growing number of persons in the churches who are somewhat aware of this; and when the opportunity is afforded them, they are willing to suffer the pain of such appraisal. They are disturbed by an inner surmise that the church could be much more than it has been, but they haven't known how to pursue their concern. There seem to be signs of an increasing awareness of the uninformed, uncommitted, and undisciplined masses within our congregations. Many feel sure that this is the root cause of the lack of theological, moral, and ethical influence of the church in our western culture. Too few stand on the ground where they are capable enough and committed enough to make responsible Christian

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judgments. There seems to be little difference in the style of life between those who are inside and those who are outside the churches. Thus the questions are being raised by many pastors and church members: How did we get this way? How can we become uniquely the church, rather than just good, well-meaning, patriotic citizens? What more is there to the church than its institutional activism? How can we learn to become worthy disciples of Christ in our time?

This is one of the big opportunities the church renewal center can afford the American churches. It can offer a place, a conducive climate, and a program where this reappraisal can be encouraged, informed, and channeled to new life and meaningful participation of Christians both in the churches and in the world. I am convinced that, generally speaking, if church members are to explore afresh the real reason for their being and their real vocation as recruits in Christ's work in the world, it must be at a place apart from the local church's institutional involvements. There they have seen the gospel trivialized, and they have poured boundless energy into organizational drudgery that left only unsatisfied heart-hungers and the empty hope that perhaps the time will still come when the contemporary church will be the mighty force in our world that it was in New Testament days.

Most centers I know are large dwellings or estate houses that have been remodeled for this purpose. Though not always adequate in providing physical comforts or sufficient room for private worship and study, they do begin to serve the need. They give people a setting in which they can be together long enough in an uninterrupted fellowship of concern that an idea can be rather deeply explored. Locally our present facilities provide sleeping accommodations for fourteen persons, with near-by facilities for an additional ten participants. We have a dining room and conference room for twenty-four. The beautiful and spacious campus of Earlham College provides opportunities for outdoor meditation and physical relaxation.

The climate in which the participants meet is important. It should be in the context of a small group. This is necessary so that all may be included in the discussions at hand. We find the best number to be fourteen to eighteen persons. Though the group may come from two or three churches, they have all done the same advance reading; this and other preparation enables them to enter the experience as a fellowship of common concern. The academic aspect is an important factor. I feel it is most valuable for a center to have an integral tie to an academic community. The very location

will provide newcomers a symbol of the climate in which they will share. The center should have an adequate library of resources that will help open minds to the exposure that is necessary to renewal. There should be books available for sale which persons can purchase and take home for future study.

PROGRAM OF THE LAY CENTER

At the Yokefellow Institute we believe the main program of the center is threefold: educate, articulate, penetrate.

(1) *Educate*: Since most church members can come for only two- or three-day programs, the time together is precious and should be used with a sense of discipline. Our typical groups have five two-hour sessions. They have come with at least the preparation of reading one book. In the circle of the meeting periods the leader carefully opens the theme that had previously been announced. After a twenty- to thirty-minute presentation, he draws the group into a discussion of the theme. This may be done by a local staff member or a college faculty person; if the program calls for it, an outside resource person may be enlisted. Above all, the leader should so lead the group that their minds are awakened and applied to the concern before them. For too long many church people have lived in just an emotional glow of religion. Some have given assent to ideas of vigorous religion, but they have not permitted the ideas to be binding on their lives. At the lay center the individual is exposed through biblical study and group discussion to the nature and meaning of life under the lordship of the God revealed in Jesus Christ. He finds himself in a climate where it is easier, because of the help surrounding him, to make a deeper response than he could in the past.

In our time we face the enormous task of being informed citizens. This task is made a frightening matter due to the complexity of modern life. Nevertheless, we cannot afford to be uninformed about our world and the kind of world situation that envelops us. A vital part of the much-needed knowledge of informed citizens is a clear understanding of the faith we are to live by, and the implications of that faith to our homes, our jobs, and our other relationships in society. How can we be the "church in the world" unless we know what the church is, and what the world is, and what is their relationship to each other. It seems that the task of the center is to involve people in a process of adult education that they will become informed in this realm. To an amazingly large percentage of the people who come to our program the ideas of vital Christian commitment, the New Testament profile of the church, the ministry common to all Christians, the distinction

between essence and organization in the Body of Christ, the role of the church member in his parish beyond the parish, these and other related themes seem to be almost totally new. The discussants bear witness to the fact that they have been muscle-bound in the complex institutional machinery of the church and have missed the challenge to "grow up" in an adult approach to the gospel and in a knowledge of their Christian mission. The center can help the church find new ways to lead people in participative learning through personal involvement in small groups.

(2) *Articulate*: Through the study, discussion, and dialogue encounter enkindled at the center the participants share in a new personal articulation of the great ideas of their faith and its necessary corollaries in their lives. It is a well-known fact that many church members have left the discussion of religion to the clergy. This is no doubt one of the reasons for the widespread apathy and lack of participation of the people that are so deeply felt by numerous church leaders.

We are just now beginning to awaken to the importance of the principle of discussion, which has been an integral part of the church's life at various periods since New Testament days. The idea of opening one's life to the will of God in the intimacy of face-to-face groups may be new to vast numbers of those in our churches today, but it is not new in church history. Much of the New Testament seems to indicate that the church often reached a consensus out of free and informed discussions. They said, "It seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us." Out of their discussion came the obedience, the discipline, the witness. The Holy Spirit, through the Scriptures, had a chance to instruct the fellowship in which there was the encounter of group need, group concern, and mutual liability. The class meeting in early Methodism is a powerful demonstration of this principle at work. It was a small gathering of twelve or fifteen persons meeting in a weekly fellowship for worship, instruction, discussion, and opening of lives to learning more about the Christian way which they had accepted. In an early Methodist *Discipline*, Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury spoke of the class meetings as "spiritual hospitals."

I have witnessed over and over again how, in the study of the shared fellowship, there is new excitement and response witnessed by many because old truths have become vividly alive for the discussants. For the first time they have participated in the dynamics for understanding what the church is to be in the light of God's action in history. They have been led to new insight and involvement. The church renewal center is a setting which makes it easier for persons to be honest and frank, for the old disguises to

be laid aside, and for the Holy Spirit to confront the real conditions of man's spirit. By digesting the Word through discussion, the participant finds the idea made vivid and real *for him*. He has been in the climate of expectancy and receptivity long enough that the Word gets through to him, and gets inside him. He now can articulate it in words and thought forms meaningful to him, and, in doing so, he is often giving expression to a new commitment that is shaping up in his life. If more and more people can become involved in this process, we face the promising fact that the Word may have a chance to shape the world again.

It is difficult to see this process in the old structures of the local church's life. For so long the spirit of expectancy has not been noticeably strong. We have done things in the same way for a long time, and nothing new has come of it. Seldom are gatherings of people to be considered as groups in the deep sense that we speak of them here. They are more like a collection of individuals. When they do come together, much of what is done must always be introductory. Each time there is a new audience, so what was done before must be reviewed in order not to offend and in order to get all the help possible from them.

On the other hand, the group at the lay center shares in free discussion. They have voluntarily entered a discipline, and they are together long enough that the theme before them can be deeply explored. Because of the time they are together the Holy Spirit has a more reasonable chance to penetrate the usual insulations and disguises which have shielded them from participating in candor and objectivity in the local church meetings. All the members of the group are on hand when the meeting begins, and no one leaves the meeting until it concludes. There are no usual mechanics, such as roll call, reports from people who haven't "acted," or review of old business. There is time to "center down" on the concern at hand. Therefore, if this process is to take hold in the local church, it seems necessary that it begin in a setting removed from the institutional machinery. It seems urgent that we remove ourselves from the trees in order to see the forest.

There is much to indicate that the pastor needs this opportunity for getting away from his ordinary routine just as much as does the layman. He too often needs a chance for recovery and restoration of the faith in his life. The vision of the real life of the church can become dimmed for him as he gives himself so consistently to what some call "the oppressive weight" of institutional matters. In the setting we are describing, he finds his wholesome perspective of the church restored, and his own interior life

is oriented around what he knows to be the real purpose of his ministry. In a recent four-months period a hundred pastors shared in three-day sessions at our center.

(3) *Penetrate*: The great hope which presses in upon us in our time is that the church will become a fellowship of penetration, a truly redemptive force in society. The inevitable question is, How can the salt and light and leaven of Christian truth penetrate the structures of education, industry, campus life, politics, and social life? How can these realms be brought under the lordship of Christ? The obvious answer is in the committed and informed laymen who see their occupation, their politics, their social contacts as areas in which to serve the Mind of Christ.

The lay center serves this purpose by helping its visitors explore the whole matter of vocation, by opening up the concern of the common ministry of all Christians, and by stressing the mission of the church in the world. When the members realize that the church is not the end of salvation, but an instrument of salvation for the world, then we are getting near the true motivation for the soundest kind of evangelism. When a member has become informed by the Word, and is undergirded by the fellowship of other committed souls, he is better prepared to live and speak that Word as an obedient servant in the world where he lives and works.

THE FOUNDATION OF WORSHIP

After this discussion of the three main emphases of the center, some may raise the question as to the importance of worship in the program. I can only say that worship must undergird all that goes on in such a setting. The work of the center is done in the climate of worship. Though the worship forms at our center are very simple, and are shared in the same circle where the discussions are held, yet worship is vital to all we do. Its purpose is to remind us all of who it is that we worship, and whose we are as worshipers, and what it means to be a servant people of the most high God. Worship is our response to what God has done and is doing, and it enables us to open our lives to God the Holy Spirit, that he can do the work in our lives that presently needs doing. One appalling fact continually disturbs us in our work here, and that is the host of church members who apparently need to be taught anew how to worship both in solitude and in the gathered fellowship. We try to provide the best help we can in this regard, both in the program we provide and in the resources which we try to make available.

OTHER ROLES PLAYED BY THE CENTER

There are other opportunities through which the ecumenical renewal center can serve the structured churches. One is by involving the leaders of denominational endeavors in the dialogue and encounter of the center. Here they learn afresh what laymen really are hungering after, what the church is not doing that it should do, and what are some of the trivia in the church's life that do not serve the contemporary needs that confront us. As has happened at this center, it is possible for bishops, denominational executives, or departmental heads to bring their respective cabinet or board for sessions where inquiry and research can go on in the light of the experiments and findings of the center's staff. The Bishop of Indiana Methodism, Richard C. Raines, recently wrote us a commendation about the work of the Yokefellow Institute. He said, "There I have seen laymen, high-school seniors, student preachers, ministers, and district superintendents begin to recover the New Testament dimension of radiance and a sure sense of what the mission of the church, the minister, the layman is." This is a word far more generous than is deserved, but it shows how a center can work with denominational leaders. The head of a board of evangelism in another church writes: "Many pastors in Indiana Conference North of the E.U.B. Church have been greatly helped, and the ministry in the churches they serve has been enriched. They speak only praise for having the opportunity to attend your sessions." Special seminars are also held here annually to provide in-service training for pastors, pastors' wives, religious education directors, campus religious leaders, and the like.

Many groups who come from local churches for institutes and seminars at this lay center return to their communities determined to continue the process which was begun here. The worship, study, and discussion which they shared is obviously a means by which they can continue to grow together back home. In due time the group often multiplies and divides; other groups are formed, and the circle of the deeper leaven reaches to more and more members of the congregation. Many soon realize that the dialogical approach to Christian knowledge is a sound way of church education for adults. Those who share in this experience bear witness to the fact that it not only is an informative experience but one that equips and supports the members through common disciplines for their witness in the world. It is urgent that every congregation have such a core of committed members of the witnessing fellowship. Such a group will begin to provide the alternative to the soft and pious "religion in general" that has infected so

many churches. It is such groups that can help transform the church that has become an isolated "ghetto" and make it a genuine service enterprise in the cause of the Lord of the Church. It is such groups who recruit new students in the school of Christ.

Another ministry which is pertinent in the relation of the renewal center to the churches is the dialogue between the center and theological schools. I can speak only of our program, but each year numerous seminary students and faculty members are involved in our courses. They come as resource leaders or just to participate. For instance, at present our schedule for the immediate future includes the visits of professors from Union Seminary, Princeton, Perkins, University of Pittsburgh, and Earlham School of Religion. At the moment we are also forming an advisory group of theological professors with whom we can be in frequent communication for whatever reciprocal benefit it might afford. We are also engaged in an increasing volume of correspondence with theological students, in both colleges and seminaries, about the kind of ministry which the church must be prepared to offer in the days ahead. We are now contemplating adding a student intern to the staff of our center. This will be done as soon as funds permit.

The experimental endeavors of a lay center can help the churches explore new ways of doing its work in our time more effectively. Here great issues of the day can be discussed without anyone fearing the reprisal of cutting church budgets or reducing pastors' salaries. Here is a setting for inclusive, ecumenical, interracial, interdenominational gatherings, some of which may still not be possible in certain local churches or communities.

THE CENTER AND THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

In a final suggestion about the role of a church renewal center, I can only speak by way of illustration. It has to do with three special services this center is offering the churches of the community that surrounds it. The first is a dialogue group of Protestant clergy and Roman Catholic priests. In this monthly fellowship we share a luncheon and engage in a discussion. We are finding out that we can learn to know each other, receive insights about each person's deep motivations, and discover in what areas we are different, and where we agree. We might even discover how we can help each other as Christians. The second experiment is a fellowship of persons of various disciplines who are involved in some phase of counseling people. This meeting involves physicians, college and hospital faculty, clergy, school personnel, lawyers, and directors of community agencies. The

purpose is to establish communication between these persons, for each to know the other's skills, and to learn how we can help each other. The third effort is just beginning. The initial response is heartening. It involves the enlistment of twelve pastors and a layman from each of their churches for a special course that will meet one night weekly. It may continue for several months. The concern will be to study the church and contemporary culture, with the eventual intensive exploration of our community, its true conditions and needs. The purpose will be to help the churches understand the community in which they serve, and to know the needs that exist and the ministry required. We hope that the fruit of the effort might be sufficiently worth while that it can be shared with the churches of other communities.

Finally, I must say that I speak from just eighteen years of experience in pastoral work and only a bit more than four years as director of this church center. This is also the first time I have tried to put in writing deep personal convictions about the role a place like this can play in the life of the churches. Undoubtedly some important things have been omitted. However, the deep longing of those who work at this center continues to be the same: that through all that goes on here, there may issue into the local churches of an ever-widening area an increasing procession of men and women who will forsake the ranks of the nominal, passive, uncommitted church members, and become teammates with their pastors as committed recruits in the work God is trying to do in the world in our day.

4. *A Tale of Two Cities: The Industrial Missions in Sheffield and Detroit*

SCOTT I. PARADISE

SO YOU'RE GOING to be a missionary in England?" said my witty friends. And we laughed at the joke before I set out for Britain in 1953.

Perhaps it was a youthful rebelliousness or a vague feeling of discontent at the remoteness of the church from so much in modern life that made me spring at the suggestion to work in Sheffield, England, where Canon E. R. Wickham (now Bishop of Middleton) had founded an industrial mission in 1944. My head was still warm from the ordaining bishop's hands when I embarked.

I found Sheffield a steel-and-cutlery-making city snuggling in the foothills of the Pennines under a cloud of blue smoke. The largest part of its half million people had jobs in the long lines of steel mills that hug the River Don for fifteen miles of its length. These mills produce most of the city's wealth and most of its smoke. So Sheffield can boast of the highest soot fall in all England and also of some of the finest steel in the world. Its race of steel workers have achieved through the years the reputation for great skill in times of war or preparation for war. And in the intervening periods of depression and unemployment they have maintained a surprising cheerfulness. But since no depression followed World War II, I found that the melting shops, rolling mills, and foundries of the city had been working full blast ever since 1938. Work had never been so steady. The workers had never been so prosperous.

The prosperity of industry, however, was not matched by thriving churches. Less than 1 per cent of the workers living in Sheffield's East End were active in any church whatsoever. The ground lay waste where some churches had been destroyed in the wartime air raids; their congregations had scattered. In other ravaged parishes the faithful remnant of the congregation was so small that a corner of the church hall was more than

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ample for Sunday worship. In the former golden age the flourishing Methodists had built a scattering of chapels all over the area. In 1953 these chapels were generally boarded up or converted into warehouses and machine shops. "It's not for the likes of me," was a comment I often heard concerning the church—suggesting that the Sheffielder had made a strong emotional decision against the church and had no intention of reconsidering. It seemed almost as if many people felt that they had given the church every chance to prove itself and had tested it to the limit of their patience—only to find it wanting at the end. From now on they would be largely impervious to the traditional evangelism and pastoral work of the church. So the church was barely surviving, and its life seemed far removed from the center of the lives of the mass of the people. The thriving industry and the declining church scarcely touched each other at all.

THE SHEFFIELD INDUSTRIAL MISSION

Recognizing that a radical new approach was needed, the Bishop of Sheffield in 1944 appointed E. R. Wickham to be industrial missionary for the diocese. His instructions were to bridge the gulf between the church and the heavy steel industry, but at first neither he nor the bishop knew how to proceed. For the first few months Wickham's assignment was one of lonely frustration. He would walk along the roads between towering mills wondering how to make contact. The big break came with an invitation to speak to the directors of a large steel company. Following a lively session with the directors, and a subsequent discussion with the union committee, he was given the freedom to wander through the mill talking briefly with whoever seemed friendly. Within a short time he was finding it possible with some regularity to hold informal but quite serious discussions with small groups of workers during lunch hours and tea breaks. In rapid succession similar opportunities opened up in other plants. And as the possibilities for contact mushroomed, a small full-time staff of industrial missionaries began to grow around him.

By the time I arrived in Sheffield in 1953, the industrial mission had gone a long way. The most obvious achievement of the mission was the widespread contact it had built up and the genuine respect its full-time staff of four had earned throughout industry. Through its staff the mission was maintaining regular contact with scores of managers and union officials and hundreds of workers in a dozen of the largest steel works in the area. It was only necessary to stride through one mill with one of the missionaries to see that these visits had become a natural part of the life of the plant

communities. And what is more, the missionaries were regularly asked to participate in apprentice training courses, to speak to union meetings, and to lecture at management conferences. I suspect that many in industry did not even dimly understand the purposes of the industrial mission. But the free access to the plants granted by the various managements suggests that they trusted the mission and felt it had something to contribute to the life of industry. And the offering of regular invitations to speak indicates that some people in industry thought the mission had something significant to say.

Perhaps the most interesting achievement of the mission, however, was the development of a technique for running informal shop-floor workers' discussion groups. By 1953 seventy-five such groups were meeting more or less regularly in the industry. These meetings were always voluntary and were convened by the shop steward or some other friend of the mission in the shop. Some groups crammed into the lunchrooms or lean-tos where the men retreated for lunch, tea breaks, or a game of cards. Others gathered around the machines on the plant floor. Although a Communist or a churchman might sometimes be present, by and large those who participated in the discussions were average workers, closely allied with neither faith. Since time was usually short, the missionary would generally kick off the discussion with a five- or ten-minute presentation on some current topic. The newspaper headlines, last night's TV program, or a shop problem might be the source of the subject for the day. And then for the twenty minutes or so remaining the argument would rage sometimes heatedly, sometimes humorously, always informally. If the discussion had been a good one, the men might think and comment about it off and on throughout the rest of the afternoon.

The object of the discussions was to spell out the Christian significance in ordinary workaday events. The missionary's skill was tested in his ability to grasp the theological import of the secular topic being discussed. His was the challenge both to expound it provocatively enough to arouse debate and to keep the debate thus started on the rails till the blast of the back-to-work whistle. In the course of time several groups of managers and foremen began meeting for similar though more formal discussions in offices or away from the plant in the evening. In a few of the most advanced situations laymen working in industry and trained by the mission would become so committed and so theologically confident that they themselves would convene and lead discussion groups without a missionary being present. By 1957 the number of groups meeting increased to more than 120. The increase did not occur because growth was easy; it came only as a result

of slow, hard labor. In some areas a skilled and persistent missionary could maintain a group only for a short time. In other areas groups could not be convened at all. But in spite of the difficulties, this technique of working with discussion groups proved adequate to build a broad series of relationships and to begin a large number of discussions on industrial problems and the Christian faith.

Their part in developing a philosophy of industrial mission may be the achievement of Wickham and his associates with the most universal application. To begin with, in contrast to the church's usual approach to industry, they did not view industry as merely a means to an end. Rather they considered the *institutions of industry to be important in their own right*. They looked on the long black mills beside the River Don not as sources of potential converts or even primarily as places to uncover pastoral opportunities. Instead they saw the steel mills as social organisms of crucial importance. These mills were the homes of thousands of men for most of their waking hours. There they spent most of their energy and found a sense of importance and identity. There was the source of security or the opportunity for success. Their jobs in this environment helped shape their ethical values, their religious attitudes, and indeed their whole philosophy of life. (In fact, repeated encounters with tub-shaped, ruddy-faced melters suggested to me how a job keeping a man close to the steel furnaces could even affect his physique.) If the mills prospered, so would the whole community. If they operated on three shifts, thousands would become owl-like, working at night and sleeping during the day. If the mills could not sell their steel, it might be that thousands would be walking the streets unemployed.

Wickham was fond of borrowing from St. Paul the phrase "principalities and powers" and applying it to these vast industrial institutions because they rank high among the powers of this present age. Men shape them, certainly—but they in turn shape generations of men. And so it is not enough, he insisted, to convert individuals without at the same time working to make better the industrial institutions within which men live. These must be wrestled with if men are to be saved from being stunted or corrupted. They must be understood and appreciated and improved if their great promise is to be realized.

This regard for the importance of the institutions of industry dictates a particular understanding of the missionary task. The key word is *engagement*. By this is meant that the mission should neither separate itself from the life of industry nor try to direct its policies. Both these mistakes the

church has often made. Instead, the mission should seek to make a broad, deep, and regular contact with men at every level of industry, regardless of their denomination—not only to know and be known by these men but to win their acceptance, confidence, and respect. Out of this contact comes the possibility of a sustained dialogue about the life of industry and its human and social problems. And in this dialogue arises the possibility of discovering and spelling out the meaning of the Christian faith for industrial life.

The role of industrial mission in this dialogue is that of a catalyst. It encourages profound and realistic reflection; it challenges unexamined assumptions; and it suggests Christian insights, concerns, and goals that might be relevant. Industrial mission must always show the utmost respect for the integrity of the processes of industrial organization. It must in no way interfere with or bypass or try to control the decision-making machinery in industry. This is why the Sheffield Mission has always avoided being involved in any policy decisions of management or the union. This is why it has refused to mediate in any labor dispute.

But, if the dialogue is to be genuine, the missionary must not merely listen but must speak as well. And to speak effectively on his side of the dialogue requires *a new understanding of Christianity*. Not only has the rise of industry placed men in a new social environment, it has also surrounded them with a new climate of opinion. In this new intellectual climate the old theological language and concepts have by and large lost their meaning. The name of Jesus may sound sweet to a believer as he sits in church, but to the average man at work the word seems strangely inappropriate and meaningless. Here God is assumed beforehand to be irrelevant; here the whole religious dimension of life seems absent. Moreover, except in their most vague and general expressions, the church's social teachings and traditional ethics appear antique and strangely inapplicable, like fugitives from another world. The *intellectual* task of industrial mission, then, is as difficult as it is important. While gripping tightly to the essential meaning of the Christian faith, it must at the same time learn to interpret it in a way so secular that it brings men up short with some glimmer of God's purposes for the world of industry.

THE DETROIT INDUSTRIAL MISSION

I had been with the Sheffield Industrial Mission for over three years when the Rev. Hugh White invited me to join him in the new industrial mission he had just begun in Detroit. Since I had never seriously intended

to become an Englishman, it was natural that I should find myself in Detroit early in 1957. Both he and I basically accepted the Sheffield philosophy of industrial mission, and we both wondered how much of the Sheffield approach could be adapted to the Detroit situation.

The situation in Detroit was different. The churches in Detroit were sharing in the nation's religious boom. And in a curious way this was used as an argument against industrial mission. "Why is industrial mission necessary?" some people asked. "With 60 per cent of the population in church on Sundays, you can reach them without going to their place of work."

But this remark is mistaken if it suggests that industrial mission is supposed to get people to go to church or to use industry as a convenient platform for evangelism. In fact, industrial mission would be just as necessary if 100 per cent of the population went to church, for its task is to bridge the gulf between the faith of the church and the world of work. And this gulf is just as wide in Detroit as in Sheffield. On the one hand the average clergyman pursues activities and is absorbed in problems that are remote (psychologically as well as geographically) from the world of industry. On the other hand the laymen in industry generally proceed in a state of blissful ignorance of the kind of theology that will make much sense in their jobs. Those who are seriously concerned to live as Christians in their place of work struggle along with very little support from their pastor or other church members. They need expert, full-time help in order to discover for themselves the meaning of the Christian faith for the life and operation of industry. This is the kind of help that industrial mission is designed to supply.

So from the beginning it was a policy of the Detroit Industrial Mission to go to men at their place of work. At first it used as contacts the laymen of four Episcopal parishes, but increasingly it engaged in serious discussions with many men who belonged to every possible denomination, or none. Although the mission continued its vigorous dialogue with the church, its discussion groups within industry gradually emerged as the growing edge of the work.

At the beginning, however, walls of suspicion had to be broken down before real discussion could take place at all. Perhaps because of the irresponsible actions of religious groups in the past—or perhaps because of the very strength of the many American denominations themselves—these walls seemed higher and stronger in Detroit than in Sheffield. In any case, both managers and union leaders had to be convinced that the

missioners did not come with a fist-full of critical judgments or the intention of telling them how to run their organization. They had to learn that the industrial mission was not the least bit interested in proselytizing. And they had to trust that other denominations would not chaotically spawn a plethora of competing industrial missions.

Only by patiently concentrating on a few people in a few areas of industrial life could the D. I. M. staff earn the confidence it needed. It had to demonstrate that it really was interested in industrial problems with all their baffling complexities, and that it was more ready to share in concern than to produce slick solutions. If the staff offered contributions from the Christian tradition, it did not pronounce them *ex cathedra* but rather suggested them tentatively for frank and critical evaluation by the men involved.

In this spirit the trust of many men in industry has been earned, a continuing relationship has been established, and in more than a dozen places continuing group discussions have started. In some plants groups of managers have met repeatedly for discussions with members of the D. I. M. staff at lunchtime. With the help of committed laymen the D. I. M. staff has carried on sustained discussion with union representatives in their headquarters, with labor relations lawyers downtown, with advertising men at the close of the day's work, and with union stewards and rank-and-filers at a local bar or at someone's home. In only two plants has the staff met regularly on the plant floor with hourly rated employees during lunch. Plant-floor meetings of this type are the norm in Sheffield, but in Detroit thus far they are the exception. Experience in Detroit, however, has demonstrated that the techniques developed in Sheffield are applicable with men at many different levels in industry. In fact D. I. M.'s full-time staff of three has not the time to take advantage of the new opportunities now offered.

Finally, the religious situation in America makes for another difference and another similarity between the two industrial missions. The flourishing religion of America differs in kind from the barely surviving religion of Sheffield. In Sheffield the established Church of England sets the norm. Liturgical and intellectual, it has the capacity to inspire personal piety, to express social concern, and to become stodgy. On the other hand, in Detroit there does not seem to be a single religious norm. In contrast to the wealthy who might be most familiar with Presbyterian or Episcopal Churches, the majority of factory workers know only the Roman Catholic and radical sectarian brands of Christianity. The multiplicity of denominations

contributes to the gulf separating American religion from the life of industry. Managers and union officials alike share—and rightly so—a reluctance to sponsor or engage in discussions about the relation of Christianity to industry, because of their fear that any discussion about “religion” will introduce a divisive and irrelevant issue disruptive to the harmony of their organization.

Without a doubt many American Christians find in their faith both personal strength and a helpful guide for action in their private and family lives. But strength and guidance for life in the public realms of work and politics is much more rare. Few churches have given their adherents the vision of a God who is present and active in industry, or a theological perspective capable of relevantly judging industrial policy. God seems just as unreal and remote and the Christian social teaching seems just as quaint and inappropriate in the offices and plants of Detroit as in the smoke-shrouded mills of Sheffield. In whatever country it thrives, industry creates its own cultural and intellectual environment. In this environment Christianity—if it is understood and expressed only in the traditional forms that developed in feudal and agrarian ages—cannot survive. This makes the task of interpreting the faith afresh for the new industrial age as urgent on one side of the Atlantic as on the other.

5. The Ecumenical Institute, Evanston

WALTER LEIBRECHT

TO LINK the heart of our faith with the problems of the modern world—this is the central concern of the Ecumenical Institute in Evanston. The institute is called “ecumenical” because it is a direct outgrowth of the Ecumenical Movement, and in particular the second assembly of the World Council of Churches, and thus shares deeply the concern of this movement for the unity and renewal of the church. For the student it is quite evident that the Ecumenical Movement has undergone changes in emphasis. As soon as it was stated that the church must be one in order to fulfill her true function in the world as a reconciling power, the original one-sided emphasis on unity was soon accompanied by a deep probing into the true nature of the church. Thus it was quite logical that the Ecumenical Movement should call the church back into the realization of her true nature and mission. That means the call to unity necessarily had to become the call to renewal.

The Second World Assembly in Evanston in 1954 and the Yale Conference of Faith and Order in 1957 clearly combined the demands for unity and renewal in their discussions of the true task and function of the church in the world. The discussions on the Evanston theme—Christ the Hope of the World—showed a keen awareness among the participants that the church has fallen short in carrying out her critical as well as her healing function in and over against the world. The Evanston conference emphasized that Christians had to take the problems of the world seriously. The church has to understand and diagnose the problems of the world clearly and sympathetically in order to proclaim the right answers and respond with the needed action.

The immediate result of this emphasis was the demand from the American delegates for the founding of an Ecumenical Institute in the United States where the church, its ministers, and students could carefully study the problems of the modern world; where the professional men—statesmen, scientists, lawyers, businessmen—could search for the significance

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of the Christian faith for the problems and decisions of their own professional lives. It was to be a place where the church and the world, where laity and clergy, could enter into a creative dialogue. Yet primarily the institute was to be a Christian lay center. The decisive role of the laymen in being able to bridge the gap between the church and world was emphasized at the Evanston assembly. For the first time there was a whole section on lay vocation and responsibility. Participating myself in some of the discussions of this assembly, I remember that discussions there led to the conclusion that the church does not make its creative impact on the affairs of the world by general declarations but through her deeply committed and well-informed members who are active in the various fields and walks of secular life. In those days we newly learned that we must see the church not merely as the gathered community at worship but also the church dispersed as God's people active in the world.

The new Ecumenical Institute envisaged by many church leaders, lay and clergy alike, was to be a place where help could be given to the laity to understand more fully their decisive role in the witness and action of the church. It was realized that this task to which the layman is called—the task of interpreting the will of God in relation to the tangled problems of the workaday world; the world of politics, economics, science—is indeed a most difficult one. It was recognized that this task would not only demand deep commitment but also the kind of spiritual insight which must be based on a careful study, prudent judgment, and devotion to accurate facts. Therefore the institute was not to be a place where pious generalities are indulged in, but a place of study. It was to be a place where concerned laymen in dialogue with one another could grow into the fuller realization of their task.

After the institute was incorporated in 1957, I was asked to organize it and to be its director. We acquired a large building for our headquarters in Evanston. Before I report on actual activities, I would like to dwell for a moment on the thoughts and reasonings behind the development of the program. In all the planning, to give the institute its character and to develop a distinct program, we were moved by the thought on *what can be done to make the witness of Christians more effective in and for today's world*. What we seek at this institute is a new type of Christian.

THE PRESENT CRISIS

Despite the fact that church membership in the United States is increasing, and so is the general interest in religion, we are aware that the

churches do not seem to be a real power in motivating the daily actions and decisions of their members. Consequently there is not a real impact of Christian convictions on the affairs of the modern world. Disturbed about this relative ineffectiveness of the Christian effort in the modern world, the Ecumenical Institute is concerned with a new and deeper Christian commitment; a commitment which will not withdraw into a merely private piety of individuals and groups indulging in spiritual Narcissism, more concerned with their own peace of mind than with the needs of their fellow men. We are concerned with a commitment which will not withdraw into the seeming security of ecclesiastical introversion, but will permeate the affairs of the world with a new will toward understanding and a new courage to act.

We feel further that not only a lack of commitment but actual cynicism paralyzes thinking and actions of many contemporaries. We live in a world of great scientific and technical achievement, yet with all our know-how we are feverishly at work to fashion the tools of man's destruction. Enjoying our present prosperity we are at the same time aware of a constant threat to our very existence. As a result, cynicism and indifference are spreading. Looking out into the world of the nations we see that mutual fear is mainly all that is keeping the deep divisions and antagonisms between countries and between hostile ideologies from erupting into open conflict and disaster. To counteract paralyzing cynicism our world needs men with an unshakable sense of purpose, with a faith and commitment deeper than all the political ideologies—men who think with clarity and act with boldness in the presence of confusion and despair—men well informed and able to bring spiritual insight to bear upon the perplexing problems of today's world—men with true compassion working for reconciliation in the midst of insinuations and antagonisms of various camps and factions.

But how can we as Christians in today's world become such a needed focus of understanding and reconciliation if we are divided against one another—if the church, called by Christ "the one people of God on earth," is separated into many factions, often indifferent or even hostile to one another? How can we as Christians, and in particular as Christian laymen, overcome spreading cynicism with true faith and a new sense of purpose if we ourselves are confused about our own belief and indifferent about truth? How can we be leaders if we as Christians are drifting, more eager to adjust to the ways of the world than to seek the will of God and to transform the world and our life according to his will?

In trying to shape the program of our institute we were moved by the

awareness that only if we, as Christians, individually and as churches, can overcome this three-pronged inner predicament of *division*, *lack of commitment*, and *lack of a real sense of mission* can we then become truly effective in and for this world.

UNITY THROUGH DIALOGUE

Our first concern, therefore, is with unity. As Christians we have to close our ranks if our voice is to be heard above the many voices of the world. Unity is essential for our Christian brethren behind the Iron Curtain and for our Christian brethren in the younger churches of Africa and Asia. It is essential for us too here in America. Only when we stand together will our message be believable, and only thus will we work for reconciliation in our world.

We understand it therefore as our task here at this institute to expose those factors which obscure our oneness in Christ, as for instance the undue importance we still give to those secular distinctions such as class, race, and nationality. Whenever this ecumenical witness is made, not merely as high-sounding theological declarations but in study, meetings, and action, our institute has encountered criticism from various quarters. While everybody loves to speak of the general ecumenical idea, most Christians are not yet ready to accept the ecumenical reality. We are particularly concerned with what it means to be a Christian amidst the tensions of East and West.

We do not think that real Christian unity is primarily a result of organizational efforts; we are convinced that it first of all must spring from mutual understanding and acceptance. Such real understanding is threatened by the indifference of the confused or apathetic Christians who are content with possessing the truth and withdrawing into the seeming security of exclusive and uncommunicative ecclesiasticism. Many Christians in our time, however, have in all churches become impatient with such attitudes. Their desire to share the insights of their convictions with one another, their readiness to sacrifice all self-complacency, and their willingness to act together as one in Christ is the promising new fact of the church in this century. We at this institute give expression to this great impatience with which many Christians view the divided status of the church. We see it as our task to bring Christians from all churches into real dialogue with one another in matters of faith as well as of action.

The institute is designed as a place where Christians from many different backgrounds can come together to live, worship, and pray. Not satisfied with mere tolerance we passionately seek for truth together. Thus, ecumenical

meeting becomes for us a common search for what is essentially Christian. Ecumenical has little to do with uniformity or conformity. We use the word "ecumenical" because for us it means a new expression of the Christian life in the world, a new vision of the church and her mission to the world, a new way to think, a new willingness to take one another seriously as Christians, a new willingness to listen to one another in spite of and because of our differences. "Ecumenical" means for us here at the institute the conviction that the search for truth and the will of God must happen in dialogue.

To further a deeper mutual understanding we have held many conferences, discussions, and lecture courses on direct ecumenical themes such as "Commitment and Tolerance, the Problem of Truth and Tolerance in Ecumenical Discussions"; "Unity on the Local Level"; "The International Refugee Year as a Challenge to the Churches." One hundred and sixty ministers and eighty laymen participated in a three-day conference previewing the coming world assembly in New Dehli on the theme "Jesus Christ, the Light of the World," and seventy women participated in a study course on the same theme. There were lectures on the pioneers of the Ecumenical Movement, seminars on the nature and mission of the church, and a series of discussions with groups of Roman Catholic theologians as well as with those of other rather exclusive Christian groups who have so far refused to participate in the discussions of the World Council of Churches. As a sound basis for such a dialogue and study we have developed a significant collection of ecumenical documents, which will further increase. This library which will serve laymen, ministers, and students alike was made possible by a generous grant of the Wieboldt foundation and many individual donors.

DEEPENING COMMITMENT

As the lack of unity causes ineffectiveness of the Christian witness in the world, so does the absence of real commitment among many of the members of the churches. It is of vital importance that we all know what we believe and that the profound convictions of our faith become truly our own. The Christian church consists of all its members and stands and falls with the willingness of all to be active and to be mature as Christians, willing to use their own thought, initiative, and strength in permeating their own circle of life and work with the convictions of their faith. The cause of Christianity in today's world depends uniquely on such a reawakened laity. Confronted with the well-indoctrinated and active members of totalitarian ideologies, particularly in the Communist countries, and the more subtle

forms of secular thought in our own midst, Christians have become newly aware that each must be able to give an account of his faith and clearly witness to it.

Fortunately a deep upsurge of lay commitment and initiative is evident today in Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox churches throughout the world. Our institute wants to serve as a focal point of concentration for laymen seeking such deeper commitment and insight into the basic truths of their faith through our dialogue, study, worship, and prayer. Engaged in this task we have become deeply aware that the weakness of Christian commitment today is often caused by a split between our scientific and our religious consciousness. We believe that the decisive task for each one of us is to think through this conflict with utter frankness until we reach a depth of understanding that will enable us to be Christians—no longer half-hearted and lukewarm—but forthright, sincere, and according to the best of our consciences.

At this institute we have been concerned with the problem of understanding and communicating the Christian faith, and are seeking new ways to translate the insights of our Christian faith into terms relevant to us as modern people. Canon Theodore Wedel, the well-known Episcopalian scholar and chairman of the World Council of Churches' Department of Evangelism, has been a resident at the institute for a year, lecturing and writing a book on this urgent task of communication and leading a seminar of ministers and graduate students on the theme "Communicating the Christian Faith."

We witness today a tremendous upsurge of new interest in religion among countless people, both in and outside the churches, a great spiritual restlessness; and we want this institute to share in efforts of deepening this search and giving content to this vast quest for life's real meaning. Thus we have had retreats and evening discussions on such themes as: "The Life of the Christian as Seen by St. Paul"; "Modern Christian Lay Movements"; "The Proclamation of the Church and the Contemporary Mind"; "Prayer and Action"; "Faith, Dogma and Doubt"; "The Nature of Guilt and the Power of Forgiveness"; "The Meaning of the Ten Commandments"; and "A Christian Style of Life."

We were particularly heartened by the active participation of students in many of these conferences and retreats. To further such Christian knowledge and commitment we developed an evening school of religion, ten-week courses offered on a quarterly basis. These courses for laymen in basic theological disciplines are offered under various professors from

the Chicago area seminaries. Lay people from the whole Chicago area participated most actively in large numbers in these courses. Among others we have offered courses in: "The Message of Jesus"; "Catholic and Protestant"; "Theological Dimensions in the Contemporary Novel"; and "Trends in Christian Education."

We are planning to hold an increasing number of the weekend retreats for small groups to consider convictions and insights of the Christian faith together in a more relaxed atmosphere. For this purpose the institute has acquired a piece of property in Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, to serve as a retreat center. Some of the themes we want to study in the near future are "Modern Man and the Sacraments of the Church"; "How Can a Christian Family Life Be Lived Today?" "How Are We to Understand Christ?" "The Dialogue Between Pulpit and Pew"; "What Does the Layman Expect From the Sermon?"

TO RECLAIM THE WORLD FOR CHRIST

Through our own fault as Christians and as churches the world has become ignorant about its God-given origin and purpose. Wide areas of modern life have detached themselves from any religious roots. To seek for divine purpose and law in the areas of economics, science, and politics often seems to us as modern people a deeply perplexing task. We react by restricting our own piety to matters of church and family and religion, leaving the world to its own devices, and letting each section of the world be a law unto itself.

Yet even a renewed sense of unity among Christians and a renewed personal commitment will be of no avail if the insights of such faith do not boldly penetrate all our modern world, reclaiming it for Christ. God, through his salvation and his creation, has shown his deep compassion and concern with the world. Thus, as his people, we must work accordingly and not withdraw from active engagement in world affairs. It is in the world that God's will is to be done, in the midst of life and not apart from it in some strictly religious sphere. The committed layman is in the unique position through his life and work to bridge the gap between worship and action, between faith and life. To reclaim the world for its Creator and to proclaim his compassion for it, to seek his will for it, cannot be done by sentimental or dogmatic pronouncements. It affords a great spiritual and intellectual effort—the ability to listen carefully to God's will as well as to the real needs of the world. The task of reclaiming the world for its true Lord can only be compared with the tremendous intellectual conquests

of the early church fathers subjecting and transforming the world of antiquity to Christ.

We therefore plan to have outstanding Christian thinkers from various disciplines as resident scholars at the institute, men who are capable of entering into dialogue with others working on the frontiers of human knowledge, into dialogue on the relationship of the Christian faith to the various fields of human knowledge and action, conveying to us a new vision of the Kingdom of God as above and yet in the world. The Danforth Foundation has helped us with a most generous grant to make the presence of such outstanding resident scholars possible. This year Dr. Theodore Wedel and the European theologian Anders Nygren are at the institute, and have made their invaluable contribution by adding an element of depth to our discussions and through their research an element of steady continuity to our activities.

There are also meeting at the Ecumenical Institute study groups of twelve scholars each which explore questions that are presently of urgent concern to the churches. The main activity of the institute so far has been vocational conferences, where various groups of professional men meet to explore the relationship of the Christian faith to the world of medicine, education, science, etc. It is interesting to see that these vocational conferences have proved to be of great attraction also to men and women who have no church affiliation. Once a person has seen the relevance of the Christian faith to the very decisions he has to make in his daily work, he may newly discover the relevance of his faith to his personal life.

We have held conferences for businessmen, including management and labor. Beyond the conferences held at the headquarters of the institute, we have started to set up conferences in industrial centers. We have had conferences for artists and architects, physicians and lawyers, social workers and journalists, and various other groups. We are presently planning a conference for policemen and another for advertising men and women.

The Ecumenical Institute has now been in existence for almost four years. Our program has found a fine response, and the intention and aim of our effort is more widely understood. Yet we also have run into difficulties, and have found that to put the ideas and convictions expressed in this article into reality is a difficult task. Still, we feel the urgency of it, and an increasing number of friends and devout Christians behind this new venture are working determinately toward its fuller realization.

6. Rolling Ridge—A Denominational Center

ROBERT M. COX

BECOMING an instrument of God in the transforming of human lives" has been the purpose of Rolling Ridge Methodist Conference Center since its origin in 1948. What today holds promise of becoming a center of renewal within Methodism began because of a need which existed in the New England Annual Conference of The Methodist Church in 1947. Characteristic of American churches, a concern for the children and youth of the church had directed attention to the need for facilities for camping and youth institutes.

In the face of this need, for several months in 1947 and 1948 a group of laymen and a few ministers gave unlimited attention, time, and prayer to the availability of Rolling Ridge. This thirty-eight acre country estate located on a peninsula jutting into a hillbound lake in North Andover, Massachusetts, within thirty miles of Boston, offered more than had been dreamed of as a conference center. The natural beauty of the setting and the gracious main house, following the Georgian manor period of English architecture, opened the mind and heart to things of the Spirit.

Those who saw the possibilities in this property realized that even with the price reduced to \$50,000, through the generosity of the owner, they were involved in no small "venture of faith." There were no funds at their disposal for either the purchase or the equipping of such a center. Awareness of the maintenance expense of such a property contributed to an attitude of caution. When the proposal to purchase Rolling Ridge was put before the Annual Conference, there was strong opposition, arising primarily from prudent financial caution. Finally the small group of laymen who had labored tirelessly to bring the purchase within possibility obtained authorization to raise funds and purchase the property, "but without financial responsibility of the Conference." Their task had now only begun.

Their efforts continued, supplemented by their prayers as well as the simple prayers of youth—one of whom was heard to pray, "Lord, if it be

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thy will, give us Rolling Ridge." Nevertheless, the task of raising money to make the down payment required all the energy and persistence which could be given to the task. As a result of the indomitable enthusiasm and perseverance of a small group of laymen, Rolling Ridge became the property of The Methodist Church.

The purchase was appreciated as a noteworthy step forward by many, but it is unlikely that any expressed it better than Bishop John Wesley Lord, then Methodist bishop of the New England Area. At its consecration he predicted: "Rolling Ridge must serve not only our children and youth but the adults of the conference. Laymen will gather here for study, prayer, and recreation. It will provide a place for the meeting of minds of ministers and laymen. Retreats, church planning conferences, seminar and study groups for all ages now are envisaged for the first time."

And so it has, for over 75,000 persons have been involved in one type of experience or another during these thirteen years. Its inspirational setting and physical facilities have been the meeting place of many groups. Rolling Ridge has been host predominantly to Methodists. However, among its guests have been Baptist, Congregational, Episcopal, Lutheran, Syrian Orthodox, and many interdenominational groups. The most frequent guests have been students from New England colleges and high schools. However, interspersed among meetings in which youth have grown in understanding of their faith and have made commitments to God have been conferences in which adults were involved. Periodically it has been a school of missions for women. Frequently it is a church planning session, occasionally a retreat for men. On some weekends there have been "SATIO'S" (Sit and Talk It Out). A retreat for the ministers and laymen of a district is the setting for the "meeting of minds of ministers and laymen."

A FACILITY SERVING THE CHURCH

The activities of the last thirteen years have been consistent with the motivation of that small group of dedicated men who acquired Rolling Ridge. Each summer since its acquisition it has been host to about one thousand youth, from junior age through senior high, in weekly institutes. This program is carried on by the Board of Education of the New England Conference. A staff for each week is recruited and prepared by the Board of Education and its workers. This staff plans and gives leadership to the activities of the week.

During the summer Rolling Ridge is primarily a facility put at the service of the Board of Education. Its staff does its utmost in order to

guarantee that the food, buildings, grounds, and equipment contribute to an experience that shall penetrate into the lives of those who attend. By means of membership on the Board of Education, the director of the Ridge and its superintendent have a voice in planning these summer activities and gain a more personal sense of responsibility to them.

Largely as a result of the summer institute program, Rolling Ridge has a vast number of friends and boosters among the youth and young adults of the churches. Testimonies to its results are heard and read frequently. One young mother wrote: "Recently, tragedy met our home when we lost our infant son. The faith which I had gained by my many stays at Rolling Ridge came to life." A young minister who now returns to Rolling Ridge as a counselor or resource person wrote of its influence upon him: "The atmosphere at Rolling Ridge helped more than anything else to crystallize my thoughts. The experience of living in a genuinely Christian community, the association with some of the ministers of the New England Conference, and the natural beauty of Rolling Ridge all affected me, and I began to think more seriously about the ministry." Often it is those who come as counselors who find new life through their association. One of these wrote:

I came to Rolling Ridge without confidence. However, when I became active in the program I found myself loving Rolling Ridge more and more. I was surprised to find myself giving talents I never knew I possessed. . . . I can never express in words what this experience has done for me. I will be eternally grateful to God and to all of you at the Ridge for giving me this opportunity. As I said before, this first week gave me back my confidence and gave me a new perspective on life. The Ridge and its people gave me a part of my life I thought was lost forever.

The Rolling Ridge Summer Seminar is a noteworthy by-product of the summer program. For the last three years the New England Methodist Student Work Committee and its executive secretary have co-operated with Rolling Ridge to recruit a group of eight to ten college students. These students commit themselves to an experience of small-group life with three major components: work, study, and fellowship. Work responsibilities are predominantly in the kitchen, but extend to some housekeeping and custodial work. Their study is directed by a graduate student who gives full time during the summer to directing the activities of this group. Their life together is intensified by sharing somewhat limited living quarters, a great diversity of personal interests and habits, and often extreme variation in attitudes toward work and personal responsibility. As the outcropping issues find expression in consideration of topics such as "What is Love?" "The Church—A Christian Fellowship," or "The Doctrine of Man," the oppor-

tunities are unlimited for new theological insights, increased understanding of self, and improved interpersonal relationships.

In this seminar program the Rolling Ridge staff guides the kitchen work and other assignments in a manner directed primarily toward the success of the summer institutes. The director of Rolling Ridge, along with the executive secretary of Methodist student work, stand by as resource persons available to the seminar group when called upon or as needed.

The proximity of Boston-area colleges explains, in part, the frequent use which is made of Rolling Ridge on weekends of the fall, winter, and spring by such groups as the Student Christian Movement, the Methodist Student Movement, individual Wesley Foundations, the Intervarsity Christian Fellowship, and other college-related groups. Many weekends find small numbers of persons from these groups in leadership training, a Bible study seminar, or a workshop. On other weekends larger numbers may be present for an area-wide conference with outstanding resource persons drawn from Boston's academic or religious community.

Until recently Rolling Ridge served primarily as host to such groups with little or no active relationship to the experience. However, the last two directors of the Ridge have been secured primarily because of training and background which equipped them to work more directly with those who use this facility. As a result, it is common for the director to participate in planning the weekend. Frequently he is called upon to serve as a speaker, discussion leader, or resource person.

A more direct relationship is being established with many other groups coming to the center. The annual School of Missions, which is sponsored by the Woman's Society of Christian Service, has for the last two years turned to the director as an instructor. Increasingly Methodist Men of local churches have requested the director of the Ridge to assist them in planning an experience for the men of their church which will go beyond the common superficial subjects of discussion, touch their lives more deeply, and help them to build a stronger bridge between their religious life and the world in which they live and work.

Through retreats and planning conferences persons who are usually caught up in all the activities of their church are finding a neutral place in which they can express not only their dissatisfaction with the busyness in which they are usually involved but also their aspirations for a more significant encounter through the church. Often these aspirations are for a Christian fellowship with greater depth. Other times they concern conditions with which they feel their church should deal more vitally.

A LABORATORY FOR NEW LEARNING

A somewhat new, or enlarged, concept of the role of Rolling Ridge Methodist Conference Center has been emerging. The impetus for this has come from several sources. At the end of its first decade of service Bishop John Wesley Lord named a committee to study the relationship between the Rolling Ridge Methodist Conference Center and the New England Conference. In connection with its study this committee had occasion to prepare the way for a stronger representation of the New England Conference in the Board of Directors of Rolling Ridge, to involve the conference in a campaign for capital funds for the Ridge, and to provide guidance in the selection of the present director. Each of these moves resulted from recognition of the need for Rolling Ridge to have a larger role in New England Methodism.

Many of the aspirations prominent in the study of the committee were also to be found in a statement of philosophy which was prepared by the previous director. In this statement was expression of the need for Rolling Ridge, as innkeeper, to step up its impact upon the groups that come to it. Here was recognition of the need for fostering greater depth in the church in the face of usual concentration upon church buildings and statistics. Hope was recorded that in its second decade Rolling Ridge might "explore frontiers which are new or unknown to the local church." Among those suggested were adult education, dynamic Bible study, Christian drama, encouragement of scholarship, social action, and business ethics. A warning within the statement was sharp but pertinent: "Unless the Church encourages and provides resources for some of its people to work at least part-time on the 'frontier' then, to be blunt, we must settle for the mediocre and let contemporary culture set the norms of the future."

Mediocrity within the church was also making its impression upon the present director, as he witnessed Methodist adult education in all parts of the United States. As a staff member of the Methodist Board of Education, over a period of five years I have seen educational efforts in churches across the country that existed on tradition. They had little vital impact on the persons participating and often lacked any apparent relevance to their society and culture. However, these same persons, who were indifferent in the typical class, were found to be anxious to have a part in learning experiences where members of the group were at least as important as the "content," and where the "content" was related to important situations with which they were familiar. The absence from the typical adult class

of those persons and professions having greatest influence upon society was striking.

I was forming another impression during this same period by exposure to the work of social scientists. Conferences that were concerned primarily with individual and group effectiveness and planned change demonstrated theories and procedures of which the church was taking little notice, in spite of its concern for changed lives. Commercial, political, economic, and social segments of society were employing these procedures to increase their effectiveness. The question would not down: Did the church lack genuine concern for change? Or was it less willing to learn from such sources and to adapt principles and methods consistent with its nature and purposes?

While I was expressing the need for a center within Methodism where such learning and adaptation would be put into practice, I was invited to assume this responsibility. A part of the challenge put before me was to establish a laboratory within the church, wherein, as in the electronics laboratories surrounding Boston, men would learn how they are to live in the second half of the twentieth century. The invitation was an apparent opportunity to have a part in what Dietrich Bonhoeffer had indicated to be the challenge to the church today—to “come out of her shell and make common cause with humanity.”

Along with these forces for a new direction for the future of Rolling Ridge has come a belief that the investment which the church makes in its youth is most greatly threatened by an adult society that contradicts, by example, what the church teaches and claims. Therefore, our current concern for youth requires that adults be enabled to examine, with some objectivity, the values and faith they demonstrate as over against what they profess. Their fear of identifying unpopular truths or facts must be overcome. At least temporarily they must break free of cultural restraints and, out of genuine compassion for their fellow men, “speak the truth in love.” This requires that in gaining new insights, new convictions, commitment and power, they recognize a supportive fellowship to which they have responsibility and from which they may draw encouragement for their witness in life. These were among the challenges which were set before Rolling Ridge.

ITS DENOMINATIONAL ASPECT

In becoming acquainted with lay training centers one observes that most of them are, or aspire to be, ecumenical. The reason for this is not difficult to understand. In their desire to represent, speak for, and serve the Church Universal it appears contradictory to establish a center related

primarily to a single denomination, a segment of the Church.

However, denominationalism is a part of the reality of the Church in the United States. Even in the midst of enthusiastic expression of ecumenicity churches are most responsive to denominational happenings. In few denominations is this more true than it is within Methodism. Many of its leaders have recognized the value of the relevant lay training which is carried on in ecumenical institutes of Europe. However, little of this is carried over into the activities and program of its agencies. It appears that in order for this type of experience to gain a significant place in Methodism, it must be carried on successfully at a center within the denomination.

This belief, along with the interest of the Rolling Ridge Commission (its governing body) in new approaches to developing an informed and able laity, played a prominent part in the decision to enlarge the image and program of Rolling Ridge. Its setting and facilities seem ideally suited to the purpose. Its proximity to some of the outstanding academic faculties of the world and the industrial complex of New England makes available many of the most competent resource persons. The scarcity of adult education in New England churches leaves a vacuum, ready to be filled, rather than a tradition to overcome.

However, the effort to establish a training center within a highly organized denomination finds its major obstacle within the institution it attempts to serve. The vast program of the denomination makes even announcement of the center's activities seem burdensome. Furthermore, in spite of the unusual freedom extended to the center, each activity it schedules must avoid conflict with the multifarious denominational program and calendar.

Thus the ultimate results of this effort to establish a denominational center remain to be seen. After thirteen years of valuable contributions and experience, Rolling Ridge is now in its early beginning as a center for developing a more articulate and effectively witnessing laity. It seeks to become an instrument of God in the transforming of human lives as it encourages a group of businessmen to examine their fundamental values, as it involves a group of ministers in examining their message to current suburbia, and as it brings together laymen and ministers for a two-way confrontation with each other. Openly it seeks to encourage self-examination by its denomination, at each level, in order that it might be true to its highest calling as the Church.

7. *The Lay Movement in Roman Catholicism— Developments in the Lay Apostolate*

DAVID O'SHEA

THE evaluation of any contemporary enterprise tends to be a hazardous business. The lay apostolate is no exception. There is a plethora of activity, advice, and exhortation. The problem is to determine what is significant among all this. In the hope of contributing toward the development of some guiding lines the following thoughts are offered.

In looking for developments we are committed to seeking those things which are new in some degree. Lay people have engaged in the apostolic work of the Church from the earliest times. In our period of history one of the novel features is the emergence of organizations and movements dedicated to promoting lay participation in the apostolate. These express and give further impetus to the progressive elaboration of the lay apostolate around two major themes, one of which is unique to our epoch while the other amounts to a rediscovery of the way the Church was organized in the early Christian communities.

The first and essentially modern theme is the notion of a distinctive lay task, the incarnation of Christian values in the temporal order. Ideally the priest concentrates on forming the laity. The laity's distinctive function is forming the temporal structures of human civilization. From this action a growing spirit of mutual collaboration in the apostolate is emerging between clergy and laity. This reflects itself in the second area of major development—the growing tendency for lay people to take on responsibilities within the ecclesiastical structure as such. This is visible within the parish; the school system; in colleges and universities; in the apostolic movements of the Church; in catechetical programs; in the field of newspapers, periodicals, and Catholic publishing houses; and quite dramatically in lay participation in the mission work of the Church in areas overseas as well as, in the case of the United States, the home missions.

As with other movements, that of the lay apostolate has been precipitated by historical developments. The Old Testament makes us familiar

DAVID O'SHEA, National Secretary for the Papal Volunteers for Latin America and Executive Assistant to the Chicago Catholic Action Federations, here summarizes the development of the lay movement in the Roman Catholic Church.

with the way in which God uses events to force his people to become aware of new depths within their being and rediscover old meanings in novel experiences.

I

The specific events which stirred the first moves in the slow process of the lay renaissance are precisely those which marked the end of direct clerical influence in the secular order. Addressing the first world congress of the lay apostolate in 1951, Pope Pius XII made reference to this, commenting that: "At the end of the eighteenth century a new factor came into play. On the one hand, the Constitution of the United States of America—a country which had an extraordinarily rapid development and where the Church soon began to grow considerably in life and vigour—and on the other hand, the French Revolution, with its consequences in Europe as well as overseas, led to the detachment of the Church from the State."

Not only was a separation effected, putting an end to the traditional alliance of throne and altar, but one of the partners was disposed of. Monarchs have rapidly gone out of fashion, and sovereignty has passed to the people in an increasing degree. The traditional approach had been to convert the king in order to Christianize his people. Now the people must be converted first in order to Christianize the state.

These events mark the point of departure for the lay apostolate in the modern sense. They forced Catholics to rethink their position, both in the world and in the Church. The pressure to leave the Church, so universally labeled during the nineteenth century as an obscurantist survival from feudal times, swept many of the literate people from their faith. Not only in Europe did this occur. The eminent Dr. Amoroso Lima, an outstanding witness to new developments in the lay apostolate in his native Brazil, has observed that by the end of the nineteenth century only one intellectual of stature in his country would acknowledge publicly to being a Catholic. This was the brilliant journalist Carlos de Laet. However, Dr. Lima points out, de Laet was a notoriously contrary personality; the probability is that he was a Catholic precisely because everyone else was not.

To illustrate the course of developments one inevitably turns to France, formerly the most Catholic of nations. With the dawn of the nineteenth century, opposition to the Church in France had swung to its extreme and the return was under way, though slowly.

Hard on the heels of the political revolution came a further social upheaval which was to give a characteristic stamp to the movement of the laity. This was the industrial revolution. The entrepreneur ascended into

the driver's seat. His chief concern, as Maritain remarked, was the fecundity of money. Established social structures were upset. New centers of production arose. Blake's "dark, satanic mills" arose not only on "England's green and pleasant land" but also upon the European continent in increasing numbers. The rapidly expanding population being displaced from rural areas was attracted to the new industrial sites. The industrial slum, symptomatic of the ills of economic individualism and the ubiquitous other side of its dubious coin, became the heritage of millions.

In this confused setting Catholicism appeared to many as a quaint hangover from the Middle Ages. Within the Church the more perceptive members of the clergy and laity realized that the world was heading for catastrophe unless Christian values could be re-established in the hearts of men and in the structures of the new industrialized urban society. The majority of Catholics at this time appear to have viewed their faith as primarily a doctrine of personal salvation with little direct relevance to the urgent problems of the day. Spirituality was oriented toward the after life, and salvation was to be sought in spite of the world. A spirituality directed toward the incarnation of eternal truths within temporal structures and the achievement of heaven in and through the struggle with the challenges of this world was yet to come.

As usual, the initial steps in the new direction were taken by a few visionaries. One of the great pioneers was a man of unusual spiritual and intellectual achievement, Frederic Ozanam. Later to achieve the distinction of being the first Catholic since the Revolution admitted to a professorship at the Sorbonne, at the age of twenty Ozanam founded the Society of St. Vincent De Paul in 1833. A charitable organization now world wide, it has long provided a framework within which responsible parishioners may perform the corporal works of mercy. By placing the better-off Catholics in direct contact with the needy it has helped to generate a sense of social responsibility among large numbers of people.

Ozanam proposed several ideas which serve to crystallize the best thought of the few pioneers of his generation. Born in 1813 he died, worn out by constant effort, in 1853. Turning his back on the dominant individualism of his age he saw the Christian role as being the introduction of brotherhood and mutual responsibility into human affairs. This task could not be conducted in an individualistic way, purely on a person-to-person basis. Addressing members of his Society of St. Vincent De Paul, Ozanam told them that it was not enough to deliver help to the poor. We must work to eliminate the causes of poverty. Social problems need social

solutions. Structures as well as people have to be changed.

The particular aspect of the social problem which especially horrified Ozanam was the rapidly growing division between rich and poor. Karl Marx was to interpret this as a stage in the inevitable dialectical movement of history. In his view the grossly underpaid and overworked men, women, and children, the proletarians who toiled in the new factories, should be made aware that history was on their side—that they were the representatives of a new social class destined to inherit the future. Far from attempting any reconciliation with the rich, they should reject all such reformist gestures and prepare for the day when they would “expropriate the expropriators” and establish the socialist millennium.

Well before 1848, the year of the fateful Communist Manifesto, Ozanam foresaw that events were heading toward an explosion. His best efforts were expended in trying to persuade the wealthy and the Church authorities that this widening rift in the social body was the most urgent question of the time. In a letter of 1836 he remarked: “The question which stirs our entire world is not one of persons, nor a matter of political forms, but a social question. It is the struggle between those who have nothing and those who have all; if it is the violent contrast of opulence and poverty which makes the soil tremble under our feet the duty of we who are Christians is to place ourselves between these irreconcilable enemies.”

In the best Christian tradition, faced by division and conflict, Ozanam and his colleagues sought to establish peace and unity on the basis of justice and charity.

While it is true that these ideas were not accepted widely in the period during which they were being developed, events forced them into increasing prominence. They became the basis for later efforts which blossomed into the Catholic Social Movement of the latter half of the nineteenth century. This in turn became a major source of inspiration and ideas for twentieth-century Christian Democracy, in its political, social, and cultural manifestations. These early pioneers also stimulated several periodicals, a number of books, and endless pamphlets. To use a modern term, they launched the dialogue. The major themes were picked up in other European countries. The United States was to feel their impact in the first attempt to establish a national labor organization, the Knights of Labor.

II

The full acceptance of this school of thought into the main stream of Catholic teaching came when in 1891 Pope Leo XIII issued his great letter

on the conditions of the working class, *Rerum Novarum*. Ideas which had been developed at the base were now clarified, amplified, and diffused throughout the Catholic world from the highest authority. From now on the layman in tune with the mind of the Church would see himself as committed to action in the social arena; committed to the building of social structures which would conform to the inviolable dignity of the children of men who are called to be the Sons of God. One of the major factors in the contemporary redefinition of the Catholic layman was now firmly established.

By the time Pius X became pope there were many flourishing lay movements within the Church. Those engaged in training people for action in the social environment began to be designated by the title "Catholic Action." In *Il Fermo Proposito*, a letter issued in 1905 to the Italian bishops, the Holy Father presented his thoughts on the tasks to be undertaken by Catholic Action. "It is plainly necessary," he wrote, "that everyone take part in a work so important, not only for the sanctification of his own soul, but also in order to spread and more fully extend the Kingdom of God in individuals, in families, and in society—each one working according to his own strength for his neighbor's good." He continued, "Our predecessor Leo XIII . . . pointed out . . . in the famous encyclical *Rerum Novarum* and in later documents the object to which Catholic Action should be specially devoted, namely the practical solution of the social question according to Christian principles."

Added to the definition of goals we find here the full authority of the Church being placed behind the idea that every Christian has an obligation to participate in the apostolate. Such participation demands that the laity keep close to Christ in His Church. Pious X made a profound contribution toward facilitating this. Disturbed by a tendency, especially evident in Italy, for lay organizations to act without reference to the mind of the Church and to use methods more suited to secular political groups, the Holy Father put great emphasis on inner spiritual renewal as a requisite for effective action. In his pontificate the laity were encouraged to receive Holy Communion frequently. The first steps were taken in the movement toward full participation of lay people in the liturgy, from which historical accretions had progressively excluded them. As Pope Pius XII pointed out in his beautiful encyclical on the liturgy, *Mediator Dei*, the Mass is the source and center of Christian piety.

These developments emphasized a second irreplaceable dimension within the apostolate of the laity—the awareness that it must be rooted in

an active participation in the public worship of the Church. The work is seen as centered upon Christ, as renewing itself through the apostolic lay person's participation in Christ's own renewal of His Sacrifice on Calvary. The greatest act of charity and justice of all time is the indispensable source of divine life and inspiration for those who generously strive to emulate their Savior in the daily round within a predominantly secular society.

The next major developments were to appear in the pontificate of Pius XI (1922-39). Though many courageous and profound initiatives were taken in the century prior to the First World War, their effect was limited. This is reflected in Pius XI's judgment, referring to Europe, that the greatest scandal of the nineteenth century was the loss of the working class to the Church. Haunted by this, and by the related fact that Communism and Marxist socialism appeared to be taking over, the Holy Father devoted his great energies to developing the lay apostolate within the framework of Catholic Action. As Father Yves Congar has pointed out in his profound work on the lay apostolate, though Catholic Action existed prior to Pius XI, he really created the form of it which we know today. The Pope's statements on the subject between 1922 and 1933 fill six hundred closely printed pages. Building on existing foundations he encouraged the methods by which the organized laity could, to use his own definition, participate in the apostolate of the hierarchy. In contrast with what existed before, Father Congar suggests that three features in particular were introduced by Pius XI. These were "the insistence on the properly apostolic nature of Catholic Action; the generalized character of the appeal and the wide scope of the movement that was to include all categories; and the pronounced aspect of a lay task, corresponding to the Christian's engagement in the more clearly recognized secular field."

It is obvious that the Holy Father was hopeful of doing something through Catholic Action which was not being done by any existing program either in the realm of Catholic social action, charitable work, or in the movements with personal spiritual growth as their avowed aim. It is partly for this reason that so much controversy has centered on the term. Perhaps the clearest indication of what the Holy Father had in mind is given by the statement which appears in his encyclical on the reconstruction of the social order, *Quadragesimo Anno*, issued in 1931. This work of reconstruction will be carried out, the Pope says, "by men of technical, commercial, and social competence, and, more still, by Catholic principles and their application. We look for this contribution," he continued, "not to Catholic Action (which has no intention of displaying any strictly syndical or political

activities) but to Our Sons whom Catholic Action imbues with these principles and trains for the apostolate under the guidance and direction of the Church."

Here is the heart of the matter: The establishment of formative organizations open to all lay people, to train them to bridge the gap between the spiritual and temporal orders; to bring Christ to the world and the world to Christ. The Holy Father saw clearly the need for such movements. The best application of his ideas, a work which he was to describe as "the perfect example of Catholic Action," developed originally in Belgium as a result of the direct intervention and continuing personal encouragement of the Pope.

III

This came about in 1925 as the result of an audience in which the Holy Father received a Belgian priest, the now Monsignor Joseph Cardijn, who was destined to have a decisive influence on the future of the lay apostolate. In the early nineteen hundreds he spent all his spare time absorbing information on the various efforts being made to achieve a just social order in the world. Born into the harsh environment of the nineteenth-century working class he had personal experience of the grievous trials of the people. On ordination he vowed to dedicate his life to their redemption.

The burning ambition of this priest's life has been to develop the means by which the truths embodied in the Christian faith might become incarnate in the personal lives and operative in the social structures and institutions of all the peoples of the world. Each human person, he points out, has been privileged by God with a unique and irreplaceable role in His plan for humanity. To achieve a world shaped as God would have it, the essential thing is that each and every human being discover this providential destiny to which he is called and in, with, and through Christ, live up to it.

From early experience with the Catholic Social Movement and with the liturgy in his parish church Monsignor Cardijn moved ahead. He showed the way in which the least sophisticated of people can come to discover their high calling and act out its demands, with revolutionary results in both the spiritual and temporal orders.

The Young Christian Workers movement became the vehicle of expression for Monsignor Cardijn's ideas. It was a climactic point in the development of this organization which brought him to Rome in 1925. To many people it appeared disastrous to involve large numbers of young people, and especially those on the lower rungs of the social ladder, in the delicate and responsible work of the apostolate. With a mystic's confidence

in the efficacy of the Divine Life in the humblest human person, Monsignor Cardijn had no such doubts. The opposition persuaded Cardinal Mercier to ban the movement. While doing this, he gave Monsignor Cardijn permission to appeal the decision to the Holy Father. The subsequent meeting between Pius XI and the visionary priest from Belgium turned out to be an epochal event. The ban was removed.

Thus the YCW was finally launched on its way. Its methods summed up and sprang from the experience of earlier generations in the apostolate. It also introduced original elements which were to chart novel directions. Dedicated to personal growth through action on the social environment, centering the life of its members in Christ, it emphasizes the training of a hard core of lay apostles set within the established communities and natural groupings of people to be a leaven of Christian witness. The methods used have become the basis for parallel movements among students, agricultural workers, and for the Christian Family Movement. In the United States these movements are grouped in what is known as the specialized lay apostolate. The YCW and allied groups are now global in scope and embrace well over one million members.

"Formation through action" is the slogan of these movements. Extensive controversy has centered about this term, opposing schools holding that formation must precede action. The founder of this work has maintained that training not integrated with action is pedagogically unsound, and is in fact a major reason for the evident ineffectiveness of generations of graduates from Catholic schools and colleges when it comes to relating their religious doctrine to the challenging issues confronting them when, so to speak, they leave the womb for the secular world.

Recently Pope John XXIII has placed his authority behind the view of Monsignor Cardijn. In that most practical of all encyclicals, *Mater et Magistra*, the Holy Father states:

Education to act in a Christian manner in economic and social matters will hardly succeed, in our opinion, unless those being educated play an active role in their own formation, and unless formal instruction is supplemented by activity undertaken for the sake of gaining experience.

Just as, in the words of an old saying, one cannot acquire the correct use of liberty except by using liberty correctly, so one learns how to act as a Christian in social and economic matters only by practical Christian action in those fields.

Monsignor Cardijn's concept of formation for life, in life, or what might be described more mundanely as on-the-job training, has now become another one of the major elements in the growing body of accepted ideas concerning the lay apostolate.

In the pontificate of Pius XI a further principle of action of special importance was established. This is the concept, also pioneered by the YCW, of the apostolate of like by like, nowadays referred to as indicated above by the term "specialized apostolate." The YCW is, of course, the classic example, defining itself as a "movement of young workers, by young workers, for young workers." At the time of its inception this represented a revolutionary break with the paternalist tradition of European Catholic organizations. Many of the leading positions, even in such an avowedly working-class enterprise as the French working men's clubs, were held by professional men and socially conscious aristocrats. While they were very generous to undertake such work, an unforeseen by-product was that ordinary people were denied the opportunity to develop their innate leadership abilities.

Given an opportunity to develop their potentialities within the YCW, young working men and women rapidly demonstrated their much greater effectiveness as apostles to others of their own social group. The principle of like to like was adopted by Pius XI in *Quadragesimo Anno*. "Undoubtedly," he wrote, "the first and immediate apostles of the workingmen must themselves be workingmen, while the apostles of the industrial and commercial world should themselves be employers and merchants."

The process of establishing consensus among Catholics on aims and methods for the lay apostolate was hastened by doctrinal and organizational developments under Pope Pius XII. Of special importance in this regard were the encyclical letters on the doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ and the Sacred Liturgy. The former did much to encourage the growing senses of unity in and with Christ among the Catholics of the world, something which seems to have receded steadily since the early Middle Ages and reached a low point in the nineteenth century.

The encyclical on the liturgy has been followed by modifications in the public worship of the Church. Among these are the new Easter vigil; revision of fasting requirements for reception of Holy Communion; permission for offering the sacrifice of the Mass in evening hours, making it more accessible for more people; further encouragement of lay participation in the liturgy; and some extension of the use of the vernacular. These developments are vital for the lay apostolate. As Father Theodore Hesburgh, C.S.C., has pointed out, the lay apostolate is not the whole expression of lay participation in the priestly work of Christ. It presupposes the more basic participation in the liturgical worship of the Church.

These developments, added to the ferment of ideas generated by

the world-wide upheaval of the war years, gave added impetus to lay activity. This led to the calling of the first world congress of the lay apostolate which was held in Rome in 1951. Apart from the obvious importance of the event in itself, equally of note was the choice of title. The original thought was to have an international congress of Catholic Action. However, this term had become so confused by debate as to its meaning that, paradoxically, the discussions it provoked proved an obstacle to action. Recognizing this the preparatory commission decided to use the all-embracing term "lay apostolate." The congress concentrated on exploring the great challenges of the time which demand an active response from the laity of the Church.

While now it is the fashion to use the term "lay apostolate" rather than Catholic Action, the major contribution of the latter concept has become firmly established in the Church. This is the need for movements whose avowed aim and purpose is the formation of apostolic lay people in the sense suggested by Pius XI in the quote from *Quadragesimo Anno* above.

In this regard it is significant that the theme of the second world congress of the lay apostolate, held in 1957, was "the laity in the modern world: responsibilities and formation." Historical events have forced increasing responsibilities for the mission of the Church in the world upon the laity. This in turn has led to a progressive elaboration of thinking within the Church on the question of the layman's formation. As the seminary was developed to prepare those whose calling is the priestly apostolate, Catholic Action was developed to prepare those whose vocation is the lay apostolate. It is this formative task which today is the most vital work of the organized lay apostolate movements. While, relative to the total Catholic population, such movements are still all too small, they have grown steadily in recent years.

IV

Parallel to the growing acceptance of the need for formative movements has come a growing clarification of the specific work which falls to the laity in the apostolate. At first the assumption tended to be made that lay people acted as substitutes for the clergy. Canonically the layman is defined negatively as being neither a cleric nor a monk. However, as Father Congar points out, by the time of Pius XI the awareness of a specifically lay task had emerged. This was to be expressed most clearly by Pius XII in his address to the second world congress of the lay apostolate. He said: "The consecration of the world is essentially the work of laymen themselves, of

men who are intimately a part of economic and social life and who participate in the government and legislative assemblies."

This raises a question which is attracting increasing attention at the present time—that of the relationship between clergy and laity in the apostolate. The above quotation from Pius XII illumines a statement on this matter by the Archbishop of Hartford. "The lay apostolate," he said, "is not one in which the people help the priest to do the priest's work. On the contrary, in the real lay apostolate the priest helps the layman to do the layman's work." The priest, as Father Congar has recently suggested, "must second the efforts of the laity by forming them spiritually, by advising (and being advised by) them." The spirit of this relationship ideally is one of collaboration, a word used ten times by Pope Pius XII in his address to the second world congress of the lay apostolate.

The emphasis here is on the priestly task as being ideally the formation of the laity and the distinctive lay task as being the formation of human culture and civilization reflecting Christian values. The movements of the lay apostolate dedicated to the work of formation provide the framework within which clergy and laity can collaborate for this objective at every level, from the parish all the way to the international plane.

The difficulties of the priest-worker experiment in France point up the importance of conceiving clerical and lay roles in this distinctive manner. However—and this brings up a final question—while the lay task as such is in the temporal order, this does not deny the validity of the growing tendency for lay people to undertake a variety of responsibilities within the ecclesiastical order itself. It would appear that as the Church becomes increasingly aware of the work of the laity in the secular world, there is a parallel growth in readiness to assign them tasks in the ecclesiastical structure. The working relationships being engendered between increasing numbers of priests and lay people in the various apostolic movements is no doubt a large factor in this development. While still a minority, there are increasing numbers of parishes where the laity are invited to assume a wide range of responsibilities in the task of developing this basic unit of the Christian community which Pope Pius XII so well described as the Mystical Body of Christ in miniature.

In the field of Catholic education, while the greater part of the work is conducted still by priests, religious and brothers, an increasing proportion of the positions at every level are being filled by dedicated lay people who could secure larger incomes in secular positions. A more dramatic example of this type of lay work within the Church itself is the growing lay missionary

movement. In 1950 this type of work was unknown among Catholics in the United States. Today there are a dozen different organizations recruiting, training, and sending lay volunteers to assist missionary efforts around the world and in the home mission regions of this country. About two hundred lay people from the United States are now serving abroad on these programs. This figure is expected to increase markedly in the next few years. A large impetus has been provided by a special call from Rome in 1960 for lay volunteers to serve in Latin America on projects being developed there by Church authorities.

Activities of this type serve to develop the Christian community as such. While the distinctive lay task is in the temporal order, it cannot even begin without a viable base from which to operate.

All these developments, backed by the enormous output of printed material in Catholic papers, periodicals, reviews, and books, hastened by the gigantic challenges which history is throwing up before the Christian conscience in our time, are creating a new definition of the Christian layman. The terms in which the conscious member of the Church thinks of himself today are not those which were available to his parents, still less his grandparents. This evolution is being further stimulated by theological research and is in itself evoking extensive study at this ultimate level. The present stage of development is reflected in the title of Father Yves Congar's great work, *Toward a Theology of the Lay Apostolate*. It would seem the much-heralded "age of the laity" is just now dawning and that the "sleeping giant" has just awakened. He has yet to rise up and show the world what he can do.

The Task of Theology

GEORGIA HARKNESS

THE purpose of this statement is to try to say what I think theology is all about, what its authentic roots are, and hence the direction in which I think we ought to be headed in the theologizing of the present. In view of twenty years of happy experience in teaching Christian theology in two great seminaries, I shall attempt to suggest what I believe to be the essential relations of theology to the other disciplines commonly found in seminaries. And, since I am approaching the time of official retirement from this relation, though I hope not from theologizing, I shall claim the privilege of being autobiographical, even of reminiscing, at points where this approach seems to be called for.

As I see it, any authentic and valid theology needs to be conceived under four categories: as systematized inheritance, as comprehensive inquiry, as witness, and as co-ordination. As is immediately evident, there is no sharp line of demarcation between these categories. Yet each has its special focus to which attention should be addressed.

I. THEOLOGY AS SYSTEMATIZED INHERITANCE

Every intellectual discipline, whatever its claims to objectivity and freedom from prejudice, has to have a starting point and take to its task some presuppositions. It used to be claimed that in science, unlike the situation in the dogmatisms of religion or theology, one could simply with an open mind "go to Nature and learn her ways," or that in philosophy (when philosophy *was* philosophy and not simply linguistic analysis) one could discern the meaning of life from an unbiased survey of experience as a whole. These claims to presuppositionless investigation and thought are now rather completely abandoned by both scientists and philosophers. One of the values of the contemporary existentialist mood is the recognition that an element of subjectivity necessarily pervades all thinking, for value

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judgments necessarily affect the fields of study to be pursued and the selection and interpretation of data within them. However modern we assay to be, we cannot divorce ourselves from our past, though we can refuse to be shackled by it. In a word, we cannot "start from scratch."

It is, therefore, without shame that Christian theology can take its stance from the Bible, from the history of Christianity, and from a living stream of Christian experience with Jesus Christ as its Source and Head. The theologian's existence, whatever his adjacent connections, is not centered in a Communist cell, an American political party, or in a serviceable but secular "service club." He belongs to the Church—and let us hope also to a church—which is "the household of God, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus himself being the chief cornerstone" (Eph. 2:19-20). The basic elements of his theology have come to him *from* the Church; the primary contribution he can transmit both to the Church and to the world is *through* the Church. If he forgets this connection, he is likely to go cobweb-spinning.

Several observations are in order in this connection. The first of these is the obvious fact that the Church itself is no static structure but, with a common center and core of meaning in its message, has varied through the centuries and takes various forms today. It is the theologian's task to understand these changing currents as fully and as sympathetically as he can, both in their historical rootage and contemporary ecumenical significance, and then to take his stand on what he believes to be the truth. There is a great appropriateness in the title of what I regard as the best one-volume text in theology today, L. Harold DeWolf's *A Theology of the Living Church*. We study the past for no desultory, detached, or purely informational purpose, but that we may help to bring the life of the Christian past into the living Church of today.

If this is granted, a second observation follows. A theologian for his own fullest insights as well as his fullest usefulness needs to serve the Church not only through his teaching and writing—at arm's length, as it were—but in a close involvement with the work of a local church and of a particular denomination. To love the Church in general, as to love the human race in general, is doubtless a good thing to do if one particularizes his loves at some points. But taken too abstractly, it can become a dangerous substitute for standing within the inheritance one seeks to systematize and to transmit.

A third observation is that this inheritance is by no means all to be found in the writings of the past, whether biblical or historical, or in the controversies and convictions which gave rise to the creeds. These are

important; we need the best scholarship possible to understand, to evaluate, and, if they are worthy, to apply them. Yet there is a latent theologizing tendency in every concerned Christian, and there is often an unconscious theological witness in the lives of the humblest Christians.

What are the basic notes in Christian theology? Reduced to simplest terms, any list would have to contain such notes as these: that God is, and is the kind of God we know through Jesus Christ; that God made us and the world, and on Him our lives depend; that God loves us and cares what happens to us; that He sorrows for our sin and seeks to win us from it; that God has shown us in His Son Jesus that we ought to love Him and to love one another; that God through Christ gives victory over sin and pain and death; that to live the Christian life, upheld and guided by the presence of God as Holy Spirit, brings peace and joy even in the midst of trouble. Most of us who are now trying to teach or to write theology learned these things, probably in their elements longer ago than we can remember, from simple, ordinary Christians. Turn these affirmations into questions, and they constitute the basic questions that torment men's minds in a wistful world. God has given us a high responsibility as being, in a measure, custodians of the answers. Yet theology is every Christian's business, and we who are theologians by profession had better not suppose that we alone have the answers!

II. THEOLOGY AS COMPREHENSIVE INQUIRY

In the preceding section, though it was entitled "systematized inheritance," I have stressed the inheritance rather than the system. Yet the two belong together, and the appropriation of the inheritance cannot be said to be genuinely theological unless it is systematized. Though there is a latent theologian in every man, even in the three-year-old who asks, "Who made God?" this is by no means to say that all the questions asked and answers given are of equal value or validity.

It has become a common tendency in contemporary theology to stress not only the paradoxical nature of human existence but the paradoxical quality of our affirmations of Christian faith. Variants of this mood are found in the current emphasis on myth and symbol, with Professor Tillich declaring that we can make no nonsymbolic affirmations about God except that He (or It?) is Being Itself, the object of our ultimate concern. Other Christian existentialists urge us to faith in the gospel message—a kerygma grounded in historical revelation—but seem to regard it as a matter of slight concern whether the Incarnation has existential, historical foundations in

the life and ministry of Jesus. In the meantime, liberalism is commonly spoken of as if it were some queer relic of the past, an outmoded aberration that obsessed men's minds in the halcyon days of peace and quiet before the First World War.

As one whose theological memory spans the past fifty years, I have to say that I have seen very little of the "straw man" liberalism that is now so easily knocked down, rolled over, and sat upon. Here and there could be found a writer or preacher who went rather far in the direction of a liberalism more secular than Christian, and if Christian, more optimistic than realistic, and more centered in the social gospel than in the salvation of the individual. It was never true of the great liberals that they saw life through rose-colored glasses, believed in an escalator type of progress, or were indifferent to human sin, divine judgment, the grace of God, and the deeper notes of biblical faith. I do not believe that this was ever true to any marked degree of the preachers trained in the liberal seminaries of an earlier day. To call the roll of some of the great liberals who have influenced and blessed my own life and thought—Harry Emerson Fosdick and Harris Franklin Rall, who by God's providence are still with us; Edgar S. Brightman, Albert C. Knudson, Douglas Clyde Macintosh, William Adams Brown, Eugene W. Lyman, Henry Sloane Coffin, Rufus M. Jones, Ernest Fremont Tittle, who have passed from our sight—these friends and teachers of mine are, and were, "giants on the earth" who never said or wrote the silly things now being attributed to liberalism.

What has happened—as Henry Sloane Coffin once reminded me when I ventured to speak in praise of liberalism against a hostile climate in the Union Seminary chapel—is that those who have never had to battle for the liberal spirit of free inquiry, but have simply inherited it from the efforts of an earlier day, have no realization of its cost. It is not essential that all theology bear the label of liberalism, but it *is* essential that theology, whatever its brand name, preserve the spirit of inquiry. When it loses this, it becomes either a dogmatic defense of a dead past or a dilettante dabbling of those who, like the Athenians, "spend their time in nothing else but either to tell, or to hear some new thing."

Nor is the battle already won for the liberal spirit of free inquiry, of an historical approach to the Scriptures, of the interpretation of the creeds by Christian experience rather than by the letter. I was born and grew up among common people, have lived among common people most of my life, and have felt it my mission in writing to try mainly to speak to the common man. Accordingly, I have discovered that what liberalism stands

for, in its recognition that the Word of God is not to be entombed in the words of Bible or creed, has hardly crossed the minds of hosts of people in our time. Not so many as formerly would call themselves fundamentalists or literalists. These terms like liberalism have had enough disparagement heaped upon them to cause them to go out of fashion. Yet great numbers of persons are completely at a loss to know what to put in place of the older and inherited simplicities when these are disturbed by the raising of critical questions.

To illustrate, there is a profound hiatus between Christian faith and the modern temper as this is characterized by scientism—not science as such, but reliance on scientific method as the only dependable road to truth and to any knowledge worth having. Liberalism in its days of greatness made an earnest effort to overcome the conflict between Christian faith and science by a blend of biblical with natural theology, by the attempt to find coherence between divine disclosure and man's discovery, by the assertion that the laws of nature are the laws of God, and hence that the increase of scientific knowledge gives not proof but *coherent evidence* of the marvel and mystery of the work of an infinite Creator. This has almost completely faded out of contemporary theology, leaving on the part of the ordinary layman either confusion, or compartmentalization, or an implicit fundamentalism, while in our secular society the worship of science and its products reigns supreme.

John Dillenberger in his *Protestant Thought and Natural Science* gives a clear picture of how the current theological revolution has affected this ancient debate. Barth, with his complete rejection of natural theology, finds no relevance in the world of science for a biblical doctrine of either creation or redemption. Tillich, with his concern to give a Christian answer to man's existential questions, might well concern himself with natural science and the scientific temper, but actually has given most of his attention to culture, depth psychology, and the arts. Bultmann rightly insists that the biblical world view makes little sense to the modern man, but his demythologizing of the gospel message leaves nature out of the picture in emphasis on the kerygma. Reinhold Niebuhr is concerned about the relevance of Christian love to society but has little to say of the natural order. Dillenberger sums up the impact of these theological currents in these words:

It must be said that for these theologians, the scientific enterprise, apart from its implications for the social scene, has not come into purview. There is a sigh of relief that the old problems no longer exist and that scientific dogmatism has been overcome. . . . But insofar as theology must eventually be related to all the disciplines, the time has come for us to raise the question of what significance the new situation in

science has for the theological enterprise. We are still caught, by and large, between those who see no relation between the two and those who see it too readily.¹

I cite this illustration not to insist that all of the answers given by the older liberalism were right—and Dillenberger thinks that many of them were wrong—but to affirm that theology as comprehensive inquiry must concern itself with the entirety of human life, not with compartmentalized fragments of it. To raise critical questions of biblical interpretation under appropriate conditions, and to try to set forth a positive faith grounded in the historical revelation of God in Jesus Christ and relevant to the whole of human existence, is a major task of theology.

III. THEOLOGY AS WITNESS

I said a moment ago, "to raise critical questions under appropriate conditions." I believe it to be not only cruel but sinful to destroy faith without helping to build a more dependable and more enduring structure. As there is a place for shock treatment in psychiatry, there may be sometimes a place for shocking people out of their lethargy, as Immanuel Kant says that he was aroused from his "dogmatic slumbers" by David Hume. But most of us are neither Kants nor Humes. We are persons touching other lives, usually less mature lives, with the power in our hands to build or to destroy, to inspire with confidence or to frighten and crush. We are bidden on excellent authority to "speak the truth in love," and this applies to theological communication as well as any other. When it fails at the point of either truth or love, something snaps.

This raises the question as to whether in theological teaching one should refrain from stating his own opinions, lest he stifle nascent thought. Certainly one ought not to be dogmatic, or to claim for himself a wisdom reserved to the Almighty and the All-wise. But must one refrain from saying, "This I steadfastly believe"? Personally, my temperament would never let me! But regardless of temperament, I believe that after one has made his honest inquiries and systematized his Christian inheritance according to his best conjunction of reason and faith, one is obligated to affirm his faith in Christian witness.

But if this witness is to be meaningful, it must be understood. Let me say immediately that I do not think every theologian is obligated to write simple little books! There is a legitimate differentiation of function in every field, and the greatest contributions in theology have usually been made

¹ *Protestant Thought and Natural Science* (New York: Doubleday, 1960), p. 269.

by persons whose writing was not easy reading. There is as legitimate a place for technical diction in theology as in science or any other advanced pursuit.

Nevertheless, a theologian, like every other Christian, ought to witness to his faith in a way that anybody who knows him can read. In short, a theologian ought to be an evangelist for his faith. Or should he?

Since faith means both a structure of belief and a way of living in commitment and trust, to answer this question requires making this distinction. I would give an affirmative answer on both counts, but for different though related reasons.

Since we are bidden not to hide our light, if we have any, under a bushel, I would say that a theologian ought to state what he believes as humbly, yet as persuasively, as he can to all who are inclined to listen. Though he ought not to make a bore of himself, much less apologize for his faith, all theological speaking and writing ought to have about it a measure of Christian apologetics. It does not need to be so labeled, and the best kind of apologetics is that whereby one presents what he believes to be the truth as persuasively as he can, lets it make its own impact, and consents to be challenged by those who believe the truth to lie elsewhere. Yet a completely detached, take-it-or-leave-it attitude parading as objectivity is foreign to both the nature and the function of theology.

It is in faith in the deeper sense of Christian commitment of life that witness is the more imperative. It is out of our own knowledge of forgiveness that we can speak of sin, out of our own redemption that we can witness to God's saving grace, out of our own experience of both divine and human love that we can make the love of God and neighbor the basis of Christian ethics. This is existence in the deepest sense, though it goes without saying that not all speaking should be specifically autobiographical. Neither the historical nor the rational foundations of faith need to be surrendered for faith to be existential, and none of these types of foundation need be surrendered to include the others.

This living witness is the most potent that can be given. We see it in lives of men like Reinhold Niebuhr and Paul Tillich—men with whose theologizing we must in part disagree but whose greatness of soul wins our love and admiration. For those of us who must of necessity fall among the lesser ranks, there ought not to be any doubt, if people know us, as to our commitment to Christ and His Church, as to the general tenor of our devotional life, as to how we meet both the major crises and the more frequent and often more difficult petty annoyances of life, as to our ability

by the grace of God to love the unlovely, to seek no parade of our virtues or powers, and to keep on serving according to our opportunities and capacities in the name of Christ. This kind of witness, to which I suppose we should all assent as an ideal but personally disclaim as fulfillment, is—to quote Roger Hazelton's intriguing term—"theology as invitation."²

IV. THEOLOGY AS CO-ORDINATION

It remains now to try to pull together what I have said to suggest the relations of theology to other major disciplines. Only a word in each direction must suffice.

Obviously, theology is not the whole of any seminary curriculum. Yet I should view with suspicion any department, theoretical or practical, which believed it could dispense with theology! It ramifies out to all of them, and the teaching of theology is the function of us all.

The relation of theology to biblical studies and to those in the history of Christian thought is obvious. That is where we find the Word that must be proclaimed in words, the inheritance that awaits coherent systematization. This is not to say that there is a necessary sequence in study, for the better one understands his faith, the better one grasps the message of "that strange world within the Bible" and the questings of the centuries. History and systematizing require each other.

Ideally, at the beginning of a seminary course there should be a foundational, even though elementary, course in Christian theology. Its purpose would be to give the student some systematic clarification of his faith and "ground to stand on" before he is introduced to the largely unfamiliar world of the Bible and the cross-currents of Christological and ecclesiological controversy. Then there should be a more advanced course in theology in which the student could observe the grounding of his more maturely systematized faith in the Bible and the heritage of the Church, and from this background do further independent thinking on the major issues of Christian thought.

Christian ethics ceases to be Christian unless it is rooted in theology. As differing biblical interpretations, and in particular differing views of the authority of Jesus, give varying twists to one's understanding of the gospel message, so varying emphases in Christian ethics emerge. Without full agreement, either as to what is most basic in Christian belief or as to how what is most basic can be made relevant to today's world, no full

² The title of a chapter in his *New Accents in Contemporary Theology* (New York: Harpers, 1960).

unanimity in Christian ethics can be expected. Yet when we become content to take our moral guideposts from the world rather than from the gospel, these had clearly better not be called Christian. While I am wary of legalism, moralism, and the irrelevancies of an impossible perfectionism, I am also wary of any contextualism so contextual that it fails to find a basic norm for Christian ethics in the love commandments of Jesus and in what Paul graphically calls "the mind of Christ."

Christian education exists to communicate the Christian inheritance, of which the inheritance of faith, both as lived and as believed, is a major part. Again it may be observed that Christian education is not Christian if it is based primarily on the educational theory of John Dewey and is content to be a replica of what can be found in the public schools and many excellent character-building agencies. I believe that Christian education today, with a combination of emphases on the biblical and theological foundations of our heritage and on the Christian nurture of persons in life situations, is in a better state than it has ever previously been. There is, however, a serious weakness at the point of lack of a sufficiently informed laity to impart this biblical and theological heritage.

Homiletics and instruction in the conduct of worship are essentially designed to help the young preacher to put God, and the whole rich gamut of belief that clusters about faith in God through Christ, at the center of his ministry to his people. Preaching ought to be at the same time more theological, more biblical, and more life-centered than it often is, and I see no conflict between these three objectives.

Instruction in missions and in history of other religions should give one a wider perspective on his own faith. But if one does not take to these studies deep and clear convictions as to what his own faith is and does, such studies can be both bewildering and frustrating.

Studies in church administration and practice in field work give essential tools and instruments. But for what? If one does not have a clear and persistent sense of what it is all about, what he does becomes hack-work and pot-boiling, and before long he will drop out, as students too often do, for lack of a sense of mission and commitment. Every such casualty is, in a sense, an evidence of our corporate failure.

I have deferred to the last a comment on the two important social sciences of Church and community and of pastoral counseling. It is here that the relation to theology is less clearly defined than elsewhere, partly from their having arisen primarily as sciences rather than theological disciplines, partly from the fact that even as sciences they are relatively

new with their patterns still in process of formation. I would hazard the opinion that when grounded in a Christian doctrine of man, both man as sinner and man in the full, rich potentialities of the human spirit as made in the divine image, these sciences can add enormously to the service of the Church in its ministry to human need. When not so oriented they can lead to serious distortions, and at least in the field of psychotherapy, become dangerously close to a substitute for the spiritual insights and moral imperatives of the Christian gospel instead of its instrument.

So ends the chapter. As in regard to the Christian *eschaton* a clear distinction needs to be drawn between the end as *finis* and as *telos*, so as I come to the *finis* of my teaching ministry in theology, I am well aware of the lack of fulfillment of the *telos*, or *telois*, indicated in this paper. Nevertheless, I look forward with anticipation rather than backward with regret.

Years ago I read a book by Dr. Vida Scudder entitled *The Privilege of Age*. The thing I remember best from it is relevant to my present situation. Says she:

How few Americans who amount to anything live languidly! To most, the law of their years is put in classic form by Lewis Carroll:

Will you walk a little faster, said the whiting to the snail:

There's a Porpoise close behind us, and he's treading on my tail.

We are chased by our Purposes, we flee before them, and when the time comes for Purposes to relinquish their pursuit, how good to sit and breathe!³

These are my sentiments.

To have the opportunity to teach theology is a great task, a thrilling task, in a deep sense an awe-full task in terms of the responsibility it entails. To have the opportunity to teach it in a friendly, supporting, and dedicated fellowship of Christian scholars for so many years is to prompt one to exclaim, "All this and Heaven too!"

³ New York: E. P. Dutton, 1939. Page 25.

The Scientist as a Christian Layman

EDMUND W. SINNOTT

NOT many years ago science was regarded as a rather secondary part of man's life. Many felt that it was simply a practical matter, necessary for doctors and engineers and certainly very useful to mankind, but nothing that people in general needed to know very much about. Science was for specialists and had little to do with the deeper concerns of human life.

The development of the atomic bomb made many uneasily aware that here was something that might touch human life very closely, both physically and morally. But theoretical physics was pretty abstract, and the man on the street could not understand what it was all about. When Sputnik I shot across the sky, however, Americans were shocked out of their complacency. Here was something revolutionary. The Space Age had begun, and its implications were very serious. Almost at once plans began to be prepared for improving education in the sciences. The man of science became a person of greater importance and not simply a sort of high-brow magician. Science began to be recognized not only as something of value—even of survival value—but as bringing to sharp attention, in a new light, some of the old problems of philosophy and religion that once more assumed a place of vital importance.

People now saw that they must not only give the new generation a far better training in the sciences but that they themselves needed to learn much more about these things. Books on science began to pour from the presses. Scientists were urged to help educate their colleagues. Most scientists do not know quite what to make of all this. They have not changed, and they want to continue doing their work as usual; but the pressure of events has forced many of them to consider the responsibilities that they have, not only as scientists but as citizens. Particularly true is this of the men and women who are professional scientists but who also have a real commitment for the religious life of today. What, they ask, as laymen in the church, can they do about it? Few of them are trained in theology or

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philosophy. They cannot speak with the voice of authority on the deep problems that trouble man. But they do have a special knowledge about the factual bases of some of these problems, and this they can share with their fellow churchmen, not as being wiser than others and certainly not as being better, but as seekers after truth who can gain as much as they give from exchange of ideas with other men who have an equal concern but a different point of view. The best contribution of a scientist who is a layman in the church, it seems to me, is to serve as a catalyzing agent, a stimulant, to foster intelligent discussion of some of the great problems close to men's hearts today. Since many such problems are related to the sciences, his friends will be glad to have him share his special knowledge with them.

What are some of these problems, and what contribution can the man of science make to a discussion of them? There are many, of course, but several are of paramount importance today.

I

First is the great question of freedom and human responsibility. Freedom is one of the goals to which, we thought, all men naturally aspire. It therefore comes as a shock to find how lightly it seems to be esteemed by millions today, who place ahead of it other goals, such as security. One reason for this attitude, perhaps, is the belief of many that there can be no real freedom, since science has shown man to be simply a puppet, pushed around like any other lump of matter by fate and circumstance, no longer master of his own destiny. The moral and philosophical implications of such a belief are momentous.

This belief comes from the acceptance of scientific determinism, the concept that the laws of nature are rigid and unbreakable and that the universe is a tightly knit place where everything is fixed and predictable. How can man be free if this is so? Physics has shown determinism everywhere, and unbreakable law. Psychology reinforces this belief by maintaining that whatever man is and does is determined by his conditioning. Many geneticists, on the other hand, though just as deterministic, believe that it is man's genes that decide everything. Science, of course, would be impossible if it were not for laws in nature, for otherwise the universe would not be dependable.

For many years man has been caught on the horns of this dilemma, between the existence of unbreakable natural laws and his inner conviction of his own freedom. But in the past few years physics has made some significant contributions to the problem. As our knowledge of the *ultimate*

particles of matter grows—electrons and other infinitesimally small bits of matter-energy—it turns out that the behavior of each one of these by itself is random and unpredictable. It acts as though it had a mind of its own! In the untold billions of particles in a bit of matter, however, the probability is so great that their combined action will be of a certain sort that their behavior is statistically predictable, just as is the number of deaths per year among a hundred million people. A natural law therefore does not state the *necessity* that something will happen but is simply a statistical prediction of the *probability* that it will happen.

Practically, there is no difference between the two concepts, for the probability is so very high that matter will act in a certain fashion that we can assume its behavior to be entirely predictable. Theoretically, the new idea is entirely different from the old, for it means that the universe is not a rigid and completely determined place; the joints of the universe, as Heisenberg has said, have loosened up a little. This little may be big with significance, for it opens up at least the possibility that a human being may determine his own destiny just as the electron seems to do. There still are laws, but they are laws of probability. We should not draw too sweeping conclusions from this idea of statistical law, however, for there is a long way from an ultimate particle of matter to a man. Furthermore, mere absence of strict determinism, mere randomness of behavior, is not all that we mean by freedom. Freedom involves choice and directiveness, not uncontrolled chance. Nevertheless, the climate of opinion has changed, and a scientist, particularly a physicist, can help provide a basis on which an inquiring person can reconcile law and moral freedom. There is ample room here for fruitful discussion.

II

But a more important problem, and one that has troubled man from the beginning, concerns the relation between his body—the material, tangible part of him—and that intangible something within that he calls mind, or soul, or spirit. Here the biological scientist has something to say. He can point out that living things, and man most of all, are not simply aggregations of molecules, cells, and tissues but organized *systems* that tend to maintain themselves and to move, in their development, to definite ends. Matter continually enters and leaves a body, but the body remains unchanged. As Heraclitus said of a simpler system, "Always the same fountain but never the same water." A random bit of food enters the body, and each molecule soon takes its place in a whole where every part is related to all the rest under

definite control. When death ensues, the control relaxes and disorganization begins. What this organizing control is presents the deepest problem of biology.

Chiefly significant here is that in the living body there is a norm or goal to which its structure and activities continually conform. If the body is altered by outer circumstance, it adjusts itself. If a part of it is removed, it is restored by regeneration, at least in its early stages. This norm expresses itself in structure and is especially evident in the development from egg to adult, as the norm unfolds progressively; but it also expresses itself in behavior, which similarly moves to precise ends, established in some way within the living stuff of its nervous system. Such a norm is the germ of a *purpose*, and purpose is the simplest of psychological facts. A conscious purpose is the inner experience of this protoplasmic norm about to be realized. Just as the mature body, yet to develop, may be said to be immanent in the fertilized egg from which it will grow, so a purpose, yet to be realized, may be said to be immanent in the cells of the brain. Body and mind are simply two aspects of the basic problem of biological organization, the control that pulls matter together into *patterned* systems and directs the activity of these systems to precise, internally determined ends. This is an unorthodox view, but it is a defensible attempt to avoid the ancient dualism of mind and body and to develop a monism that is not based on either one alone. It should stimulate some active discussion.

Objection may be raised that mind can perhaps be explained in this way, in animals as well as in human beings, but what about that deeper attribute of man, his true *self*, his *personality*, and what from the beginning he has called his *soul*? Most psychologists regard the concept of the soul as quite outmoded and indefensible. However, there is *something* that integrates matter and energy into the system that we call a living organism, and this system shows surprising permanence. The idea of the self is even becoming respectable again in psychology. What you are today is quite different from what you were ten years ago, or what you were as a child. The material "turnover" has been great and often rapid, as studies with "tagged" isotopes prove. Nevertheless, *you* are still the *same* human being that you were then. Something tough and durable has persisted amid all the flux of change and circumstance. This self, this personality, this individual distinction that every person possesses and that is different from any other, is the biological basis for the self, for human personality and even, lifted to a higher level, for what we call the soul. No complete description of human nature can be made that leaves out man's belief that he does

possess a soul. A recognition of the purposive, integrating character of life should make the most hardheaded student of psychology hesitate before he insists dogmatically that the soul is nothing but an empty and discarded superstition. A discussion of the soul is bound to be very stimulating.

But there is something beyond this, something that we call the human *spirit*. This involves emotions, passions, desires, values; qualities that usually are not reasoned but pour up into consciousness from a deep source in the unconscious mind. They cannot be disregarded for they tell us much about man. To account for them by the usual processes of evolution and natural selection is difficult indeed. These deep-seated, inborn urgencies, arising spontaneously in the mind but subject to a wide measure of direction, often dragging man down to the level of the beasts but oftener coming to flower as the highest expression of what he is and might become, one may rightly call the human *spirit*. This is something different from the mind and the soul, and is that part of man of greatest significance for religion. A psychologist will have much to contribute here.

III

But what of some more practical matters? Living systems, particularly human ones, are drawn toward certain things and repelled by others. These are called our *values*. Values are the goals set up in living stuff toward which it tends to move. Some are on a relatively low level, like hunger, sex, and ambition. Others are much higher. Beauty is one of these. Why, from the beginning, has man so sought after beauty? He has often disagreed with his fellows as to what it is but never as to its existence. The aesthetic sense is difficult to account for by natural selection. It seems superfluous in a purely material and mechanical human system, but there it is. What appeals to us as beautiful is usually an organized pattern of sounds or images or words that strikes a chord within us, that vibrates, so to speak, on our particular wave length. Beauty, as Coleridge says, is *unity in variety*. There may be a relation between an organized pattern that we call beautiful and the organized pattern that each of us seeks to maintain as our goal. Beauty may perhaps be defined as whatever quality is in harmony with the basic goals of human life.

But what about another value—the good or the right? Is there anything a biologist can tell us about the difference between right and wrong, and whether right is absolute or merely relative, as many men believe? This is a matter obviously of great practical importance. The almost universal judgment of man from earliest days is that acts of selfishness,

cruelty, and injustice are wrong and that altruism, mercy, and justice are right. Is this because man's conscience leads him to this opinion, or because men of antisocial behavior have been eliminated by natural selection to some degree? There are certainly plenty of them left!

One yardstick, I believe, can be applied to distinguish right from wrong here—whether or not a given course of action will conform to a man's fundamental aspirations and thus yield the greatest satisfaction at last. Many pleasurable goals prove when gained to be short-lived, and some delights that are hoped for never come. The pursuit of happiness is a difficult objective, and happiness itself is of many kinds and various degrees. In the long experience of the race, however, men have found that certain kinds of acts, whatever temporary pleasure they may bring, result at last in weariness of spirit, unhappiness or regret, and that others yield much satisfaction. Actions can thus be judged by their inner fruits.

Man has certain basic values, better developed in some individuals than in others, but present in everyone. These are parts of his inborn nature, and as he grows in spiritual stature he becomes more sensitive to them. Whatever he does that helps realize them, and thus brings final satisfaction, we may call right; anything that thwarts them, and thus leads at last to unhappiness, is wrong. This measuring stick is often very difficult to use, for the results of an act may be far-reaching and are often long deferred, but this test provides a foundation for morals which in a sense is absolute, since it is grounded on the character of life's goals and thus of life itself. Conscience is the inner sense of what these goals are, and pain and pleasure result from the degree to which we are successful in attaining them. Thus we may define the right as whatever behavior is in harmony with the basic goals of human life. Beauty and right may thus be said to have the same biological basis. Few topics will produce such active discussion as this one!

IV

What of the final problem—man's conception of God and his relations to Him? There seems to be no place for God in a purely material and mechanical world. Even the old argument that the wonderful adaptations of living things to the world around them proves the existence of a Designer, as Paley thought it did, lost its force when Darwin showed how easily they could have arisen through natural selection. The biologist notes one important fact, however. Evolution has resulted in progressively increased complexity and higher organization among living things, but lifeless objects, following the second law of thermodynamics, tend toward more and more

randomness and *disorganization*. This suggests that life is part of a general tendency toward order and organization throughout the universe which is opposed to the disruptive forces that man has been inclined to personify as the devil. May there not be something like a principle of organization in the universe that is one of the attributes of God?

If man shares this attribute, however humbly, he is a partner in the processes of the universe. If his spirit is part of the Universal Spirit, he should be able to make contact with it by spiritual communion. If the life of man is always expressed in individual personalities, why should we not expect the greater Spirit to be manifest as a Person? If purpose is the essential quality of life, surely the Universal Spirit cannot be purposeless. If it is limitless creative power, it provides an inexhaustible reservoir on which man can draw. Doubtless man's faith in God will continue to come chiefly, as it has in the past, from his inner spiritual convictions. His love for Divinity is the highest expression of that continual seeking for goals that has marked his course and shows so clearly in his love for the beautiful and the good.

These are all matters on which the man of science has evidence that he can present and opinions that he can offer, though not with greater wisdom than his nonscientific friends. In encouraging thoughtful consideration of them, the scientific layman can make a real contribution, I believe, to the religious life of the churches today.

The Layman's Responsibility in the Mission of the Church

LUTHER W. YOUNGDAHL

MY MOST PRIZED possession today is a Christian heritage received from God-fearing parents who believed that Christianity was a practical thing; that it had relevance to all the social issues of our time. Moreover, it was their conviction that a Christian should not only be active in his church but also in the civic and political life of the community. Further, they taught us that the role of the layman was to be a partner with the minister and that religion should be reflected in every vocation and profession in life.

This teaching has had a profound influence on my professional and political life. I recall the first case I decided as a municipal court judge in Minneapolis over three decades ago; it was a nonjury case, and it was my responsibility to decide both the issues of fact and of law. I had known the lawyers on opposite sides of the case for many years, and I had to decide against one or the other. After the case was over, I called my reporter to my chambers and said to him, "There is only one way to operate as a judge if one is to have a clear conscience and that is to decide a case according to the facts and the law, regardless of who is involved." My Christian teaching fortified me in this conclusion.

For fifteen years on the municipal, district, and supreme courts of Minnesota I endeavored to follow this pattern and never had to worry about elections. When I took the oath of office as governor of Minnesota, I resolved to follow the same course in competitive politics and I discovered I still didn't have to worry about elections. Although there are skeptics who think to the contrary, I can testify from experience that Christianity and politics are not incompatible. As a matter of fact, a politician has a much better chance to remain in office if he is more concerned about the next generation than the next election.

THE HON. LUTHER W. YOUNGDAHL, judge of the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, is one of his church's outstanding laymen. Few people are better qualified to speak on the layman's responsibility as a Christian citizen. Judge Youngdahl has served as governor of Minnesota and as judge on the state's municipal, district, and supreme courts.

What I have said about the importance of applying Christian convictions in politics is true in every vocation and profession. It is the responsibility of the Christian Church to inspire laymen with this inexorable fact.

The Christian Church faces the most dangerous yet challenging mission in its entire history. In meeting this challenge, laymen must play a vital part.

We need to be constantly reminded of the role the laity has played in the church since Jesus first chose the motley band of twelve from fishermen, tax collectors, and ordinary folk. The very word "layman" springs from the Greek word *laikos*, meaning, in the New Testament, the chosen people of God. In this framework of reference, all members of the church are *laikoi*.

St. John points up the role of the layman in the mission of the church as he describes the scene in the upper room with Christ washing the disciples' feet. It is symbolic of what Christ expects of the laymen of the church.

Laymen today are surrounded by a great host of witnesses as to their important mission in the work of the church. In the revolutionary movement in the Middle Ages, protesting against a too worldly church, recalling it to its true mission, we recall the lay movement of the Waldensians and the Lollards.

The Reformation was mainly a lay movement with princes and peasants catching a new look at the role Christ intended the church to play.

John Calvin, who fathered the Presbyterian Church, an extraordinarily gifted layman, stepped from a specialized study of jurisprudence into the movement recalling the church to renewal.

America was cradled in a lay movement—recalling the church to freedom of conscience and dignity of the common man. The Christian faith of the laymen who spearheaded this movement is attested by their complete reliance upon God to aid them in resolving their difficulties.

Thomas Jefferson warned, "Our liberties are the gift of God. If we do not nourish them, we may lose them." George Washington, from his deathbed, said, "Beware of the man who attempts to inculcate morality without religion."

In the Constitutional Convention, Benjamin Franklin stressed the necessity of prayer and emphasized if this nation did not place its trust in God, it would not endure.

In our day we need but mention such a name as Albert Schweitzer to be reminded of the role a layman can play in making the Christian faith relevant in the lives of men.

Moreover, we could call the roll of countless ordinary folk who are

dedicating their lives in the witness and ministry of the church. My church recently called a production foreman from a lucrative position in a caterpillar plant and sent him to the Untouchables of India. He will teach the use of tools and open employment for a people to whom, heretofore, were open only menial jobs. This is a ministry of sharing under the leadership of a layman. This too dramatizes the relevancy of the mission of the church in world affairs.

This Age of Space in which we live demands articulate, aggressive, and dedicated laymen. Doubt, despair, and deterioration of our personal and public life appear beneath the thin veneer of our society—and this despite the unprecedented church and Sunday-school attendance and accelerated building of church plants.

The real difference between the Soviet system and our system is that we profess that we are, and strive to live as, a nation under God, and yet there are ominous signs we are straying from the path.

Let us look frankly at the record:

Consider the intensity of delinquency and crime. Since 1950 crime has increased in this country four times as fast as the population. For every dollar our churches cost us, our crime rate costs us \$12.

Note the frequency of separation and divorce and the breakdown of homes.

In the field of fraud, in 1958, bad checks that came to the notice of the F.B.I. had a face value of eight million dollars.

Daily press releases of the Federal Trade Commission reveal misrepresentation by sellers of goods as to origin, quality, and price.

Householders have found themselves the victims of slipshod work and padded bills for repairs to the home or the family car.

Unscrupulous persons on relief have fraudulently requested and received more money than the law permits.

Surety companies reveal that employee dishonesty can be safely estimated at somewhere between five hundred million and one billion dollars a year.

Collusive arrangements between business and labor and television scandals have been revealed in recent Congressional investigations.

Corruption of law enforcement officers and other public officials and influence peddling have been disclosed in many quarters.

Our human relations have deteriorated, as is indicated by numerous incidents of bigotry and intolerance, and our world relations are at the lowest ebb in all our nation's history.

What's wrong? The torch of religion may be lit in the church, but it is not burning as it should in the family, in the shop, or on the street. Democracy is in trouble today, and only the Christian heritage can revitalize it.

We have been too smug and complacent about the freedom we have enjoyed. Because we had it yesterday, and have it today, many have assumed we will have it tomorrow. But the events of the last few years ought to awaken us from our lethargy.

Ten years ago I was privileged, while governor of Minnesota, to accompany General Clay and others in the historic mission to Berlin for the ringing of the World's Freedom Bell. On United Nations Day, October 25, 1950, the peal of that great bell was sent behind the iron curtain to signify that the forces of democracy were dedicated to the idea that this world, under God, should have a new birth of freedom.

In October, 1960, I stood on the border between Czechoslovakia and the Western Zone of Germany—the border between slavery and freedom. That year I was again privileged to accompany the Crusade for Freedom group that went to Lisbon, Munich, and Berlin to inspect Radio Free Europe facilities and to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the ringing of the World's Freedom Bell.

Army helicopters took us to the Czechoslovakian border, where we saw the Soviet guards in a tower behind the electrically charged barbed wire fences peering at us through field glasses. We were American spies, according to Tass News Agency.

Even the grass dramatically emphasized the dividing line. Grass was green on freedom's side and bleak and dead on slavery's side.

Every member of the Crusade for Freedom group came away with the deep conviction that we have to be willing to sacrifice more and pay a greater price than we have been paying to insure that we shall continue to be free.

We cannot afford to take a chance to win the struggle with the Soviets in the economic, political, or military fields. We still must press forward, of course, in these fields, and we have faith that the Soviets will not be able to excel us economically, politically, or militarily; but it is in the moral and spiritual realm that we have a real chance for victory, and only as we continue to live under God will we have a chance to remain free. A revival of the dynamic faith is imperative.

Christianity has not failed so far. We laymen have failed to under-

stand the true significance of the role of the layman in the mission of the church.

We have failed to put Christianity into practice in our daily experiences. Too many of us have been unwilling to pay the price for it.

We have failed to put it into practice in our homes. That is why one of every three marriages terminates in divorce and juvenile delinquency is an acute problem.

We have failed to put it into practice in our very churches in many instances. That is why we have disunity and ineffectiveness in much of our work.

We have failed to put it into practice in management-labor relations. That is why we have collusive arrangements between management and labor and abuses on both sides to the detriment of the public.

We have failed to put it into practice in politics and government. That is why we have influence peddling, corruption of public officials, disregard and disrespect for law.

We have failed to put it into practice in our treatment of minority groups. That is why we have race riots, intolerance, and bigotry.

We have failed to put it into practice in our international relations. That is why we have war.

In all these great areas of human relations we, as Christian laymen, have the opportunity to effect a miraculous change in affairs by practicing Christianity, in setting an example for the rest of the people who do not believe or who pay only lip service to the teachings of Jesus.

But there are those within our churches, and they are sincere and well-meaning, who proclaim that religion and politics do not mix; that the purpose of the church is to preach the gospel, and its business is not to be concerned with the social issues of the day.

Dr. Dahlberg, the dynamic former president of the National Council of Churches of Christ, has effectively answered this contention. Courageously he has stated that the prophetic voice of the church will not be silenced; that pastors and laymen alike are compelled to interpret the gospel in terms of moral and spiritual issues of our time; and that it is the responsibility of the church to speak out on these issues even before they become political issues.

On many occasions during my administration as governor of Minnesota, when I was fighting for honesty and humanity in government—in eliminating the slot machine racket, in providing for humane care for mentally ill, and other programs—I told our church people, "We get just as bad

government as we are willing to stand for and just as good government as we are willing to fight for." And I will say to the credit of the church people of Minnesota, when they were finally aroused out of their apathy and indifference, they became militant crusaders in helping us achieve these programs for better government.

If government is corrupt, inefficient, and unprogressive, it is because Christian people have not sufficiently cared. On the other hand, if government is honest, humane, and progressive, it is because Christian people are alert to their citizenship responsibilities.

The Christian citizen must dedicate himself to a program that places human values first. He must fight for honesty and humanity in government. As Christ was most concerned with children and unfortunates, so must the Christian citizen see that government invests generously in education, health, and general welfare of youth. He must fight for humane care of the mentally ill and other fellow human beings in need of a helping hand. He must set an example of self-discipline and wholesome respect for law and order and fight vigorously for honesty and integrity in public life. He must work to put Christianity into practice by striving to foster and protect the heritage of citizenship for people of every creed, race, and national origin. We laymen need the urgency of mission that was the mark of the Master.

We must rediscover the role of the laity in the mission of the church. Part of the laity's responsibility, of course, is to operate the institutional machinery of the church.

But in the dynamic biblical sense, laity are the people of God abroad in the world. Lay people in various segments of society are God's messengers for the releasing of grace and power for the healing of human life. As Luther put it, they are called upon to be *little* Christs.

Real Christians are the ones who are doing things, not just talking about doing things. Jesus was an activist in the best and well-balanced sense of that word. Thirty-three short years, but what years!

Henry Ward Beecher once spoke of men who thought that the object of conversion was to clean them as a garment is cleaned, and that when they were converted they were to be hung up in the Lord's wardrobe, with the door shut so that no dust could get at them. A coat that is not used, contended Beecher, the moths eat, and a Christian who is hung up so that he shall not be tempted—the moths eat him, and they have poor food at that.

When one has been touched by Jesus, the place for him is out among

others, amid the turmoil of life, expressing by his words and deeds what his faith has meant to him. He is to be a commissioned ambassador—a living example all the time.

We pay tribute to God's ministers who have answered the call to service in His kingdom. But I am sure they will be the first to admit that witness and ministry are not restricted to men specially ordained or to places particularly consecrated.

The politician, the worker, the professional man, and the merchant are also God's ministers, and their places of witness and ministry are in the market place, the shops, and in public affairs.

Shortly after the last war, an American army outfit was given the task of reconstructing a small German village which had been practically demolished by bombs. With customary American efficiency they rebuilt the village. Reconstructing a small church, they had completed their task except for a statue of Christ. Search as they would, they could not find the hands of the statue. Finally the captain, who had been an active layman in his church, said: "I know what we will do. We will inscribe these words on the base of that statue: 'I have no other hands than yours.'"

The gospel of Christ can be disseminated only through His followers—the lay people of our churches.

Laymen must answer the question, "What does it mean to be a Christian physician, professional man, businessman, farmer, worker, or executive?"

The answer must be that the Christian gospel is relevant to every concrete issue of life. Too often has the church been insensitive to the world in which it lives.

What a different church it would be if it would frankly and aggressively challenge the modern paganism of our times. The missionary apostles in the early years of the church, as they preached in the market places of Corinth, the forum in Rome, or the wilderness of medieval Europe, did not hesitate to hurl that type of challenge to their listeners.

America was founded by men who were bold. It cannot be maintained by men who are timid. The church must have leadership and programs in rethinking our ministry to the world.

The beep, beep, beep of the satellite has been a familiar sound to one listening in an astronomic observatory in recent months. If one listened intently, it almost seemed the little satellite was saying to the people on earth, "Your time is short. You may have discovered a way to get to outer space, but unless you discover a way to peace, the conquest of space may well forecast the death of the world. It is the earth to which you should

give importance. It has greater significance than the moon." The real issue is not whether one will get to the moon to beat other nations, but will we get to the earth to save man from destruction?

Our problem has not changed with the coming of the Space Age. Though man should be successful in launching a bridgehead on the moon, or in finding possible living conditions on other planets, or perhaps in launching space pioneers to establish families and communities in another solar system, our problem remains essentially the same. These courageous pioneers would have the same characteristics of human nature as the people they left behind. Our problem would still be man himself.

Christianity is desperately in need of lay members who will give more than half-loyalty, secret discipleship, lukewarm fealty, or lip service. Clearly the lines are being drawn for a struggle between the church of Jesus Christ and the godless materialism that would destroy men's souls. Leadership in this great moral struggle must come only from a revitalized church.

The spiritual victories will be won where laymen live and work—in the family, in politics, in finance, racial relationship, in community service, and in the church itself.

The world and its thought has not been sufficiently influenced by Christian testimony. The demand of the hour is that the voice of the church will penetrate far more into the current scene. Laymen must be courageous in speaking out, no matter what the cost or risk, on issues and problems which intimately concern the men of our time.

Through the teaching of Christianity we can build a world of humanity and justice and banish the evil forces of greed that foment war.

This is the road we must follow. Protestant churches have a major contribution to make in the spiritual revival of our time, which must come quickly if civilization is to be saved from impending doom. This Space Age demands a new reformation—a spiritual renaissance.

True, it is a day of crises. But "crisis"—compounded out of two Chinese characters—means first, danger; second, opportunity. There is danger and there are many perplexing problems, but what an opportunity. The intriguing frontier of human values and human relations is yet to be explored.

Communism and every anti-Christian movement is demanding a whole-hearted devotion and a loyalty bravely proclaimed. Nothing less will suffice for this generation of Christians.

Never has there been a greater need for Christians in all areas of life

to come out boldly and without reservation in a united consecration for the common good of all.

Today the man who does not declare his loyalty to Christ is no more than an onlooker—a neutral in the face of Christianity's greatest test in all history.

The faith of the early Christians was so daring that the threat of death could not stop them. Faith today has lost much of this daring. This Space Age demands that laymen of the church get off the launching pad of apathy, indifference, and half-loyalty into the area of a vigorous, dynamic, and daring Christian faith that will send them into the market places of life as disciplined and courageous Christians ready to face the issues of the day.

Too many people are drifting through life insecure, filled with worries and tensions. Getting back to God and finding a philosophy of life that places selfish desires secondary to Christian service is the task meriting top priority in America today.

Great, proud America, with seemingly limitless natural resources, mighty in war and in peace, has, it so often seems, lost sight of God. We have deluded ourselves into believing that we are self-sufficient and require no aid from a power above ourselves.

Religious faith has guided our nation through many stormy days. We must rely upon Christianity to sustain us now in the most crucial test of all, for no scientific discovery or increased material resources can make good the spiritual deficit which endangers man in this age.

God waits silently and patiently for us to accept the salvation He holds out to us. These are days which require a purpose and mission and an abiding faith to carry us over the rocky, treacherous road ahead. Christ alone stands ready to give us this help and to guide us safely through the hazardous stretches of time.

The Church, Migrant Workers, and the Oregon Legislature

DONALD G. BALMER

ENACTMENT of five laws improving the status of migratory farm workers by the 1959 Oregon legislature demonstrated both the power of organized church groups and their limited skill in providing effective political leadership.

Migrant workers have been described as "America's forgotten people" because they are generally excluded from protection of social legislation. The right to bargain collectively (if they can get organized), minimum wages, unemployment compensation, and compulsory industrial accident insurance are usually denied farm workers by federal and state laws. Although the plight of these hundreds of thousands of migrants had been noted by the Commission on Industrial Labor in 1915, the LaFollette Committee of 1939, and the Tolan Committee of 1940—and dramatized by John Steinbeck and Carey McWilliams—only sporadic improvements have been achieved in their status. Both Presidents Truman and Eisenhower have had interdepartmental committees to maintain the interest, if not co-operation, of the several cabinet departments. A number of states also have committees of varying effectiveness. More recently, in the summer of 1960, the AFL-CIO has been sponsoring the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, which has attracted a great deal of attention with its California activities. Against this background the passage of five laws in one session of the Oregon legislature becomes something of a major political accomplishment.

The migrants have never been completely forgotten. The churches remembered them even if legislatures did not. Church groups have been concerned with the plight of the migrants, "the least of these," for many years. The Federal Council of Churches began the program of the migrant

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ministry in the 1920's. This has evolved from a missionary venture of staff ministers going out to preach to the migrants, to a more decentralized operation whereby local church members are themselves involved. Both the spiritual and material needs of migrants are ministered to.

The Roman Catholic Church has had a special interest in Spanish-speaking migrants and, more recently, the hundreds of thousands of "braceros," single men from Mexico brought in under the extremely controversial "Public Law 78." Tensions have developed between Protestants and Catholics. Migrant shacks are sometimes adorned with posters reading: "This is a Catholic home. Religious propaganda is not wanted."

Fundamentalist groups seem to have no connected national program to aid migrants, although local programs and itinerant evangelists are to be found. In Oregon the National Sunday School Union has sponsored Bible schools in some farm labor camps. Some farm groups have excluded all religious programs from camps because of dissention among various sects over the right to preach to the migrants.

In the state of Oregon these same religious efforts and divisions have appeared. But here the long-time concern of various church-related colleges, reflected in field projects of various sorts, should be mentioned. Most notable have been Linfield College (Baptist), Willamette University (Methodist), and Pacific University (Congregational). More recently a state college, Oregon College of Education, and a Roman Catholic institution, Mt. Angel College, have shown some interest.

In 1955 a subcommittee of the Oregon Council of Churches' Social Action Committee was established to study more thoroughly the migrant problem. State legislators and administrative officials were invited to attend the sessions. This body gathered considerable information from federal and state sources, subsidized modestly a Willamette University seminar on migrants, and concluded that a more complete study was needed. They decided to sponsor a resolution in the 1957 legislature to create a legislative interim committee. The assumption was that legislation would ultimately be needed to meet the most pressing migrant problems. The interim committee device is a method of financing through state appropriations a study more comprehensive than can be made by a legislative committee during the hurried biennial sessions. Members of both houses and the general public serve with no compensation, a staff is employed, hearings are held, and a report is made to the next legislature. Often the reports are pigeonholed and no action is taken.

The resolution calling for an interim committee was introduced in

the 1957 session and passed the senate unanimously. However, it remained in the lower house awaiting certain death. Then a serious scandal involving mistreatment of migrants broke near the end of the session and led to the passage of the resolution, but only after its appropriation was reduced from \$7,500 to \$6,000.

Thus the interim committee came into being both as a result of church influence and in spite of their political ineptness. This ineptness is evidenced in three particulars: (1) failure to push the resolution in the house; (2) failure to request adequate funds (\$20,000-\$40,000 was needed); (3) failure to influence the appointment of personnel to the committee. The nine-member committee had two senators, three representatives, and four "public" members. Four of the nine were farmers and one was a Presbyterian clergyman who had headed the Council of Churches study group.

After viewing the meager appropriation and the composition of the committee, Council of Churches officials concluded that a second interim committee would be needed the next biennium. They recommended that this be the objective of the interim committee. This was unrealistic politically. Action would have to be taken this time or never, advised the young attorney who was chairman of the interim committee and a member of Congregation Ahavai Shalom.

Aided by the governor's Inter-Agency Committee on Agricultural Labor, created in 1958 at the request of governmental and political rather than religious leaders, the interim committee proceeded to develop a report which received national recognition for its comprehensiveness and extensively factual basis. Facts were gathered by state agencies from interviews with 4,273 farm operators, 95 crew leaders, and 801 migrants; and from inspection of 119 camps, 191 fields, and 550 motor vehicles. The interim committee recommended the passage of six bills based on these facts. These bills were astutely put in draft form. They provided for motor vehicle safety, labor contractor licensing, camp and field sanitation standards, a \$50,000 pilot education program, creation of a permanent inter-agency committee, and tax relief for farmers improving migrant housing. All but the last bill passed the legislature.

The development and adoption of the report was largely the result of the political skill of three people—the chairman of the interim committee, the assistant labor commissioner, and the chairman of the inter-agency committee. All three were shrewd political operators who knew the administrative and legislative process and how to use public relations techniques. All three were deeply humanitarian and dedicated to insuring justice for

migrant workers. All three possessed a great deal of personal integrity. None of the three could be characterized as pious or active in organized religion.

The successful enactment of the five laws required a strong political base. To this base the churches made the major contribution. Literally hundreds of people—clergy and laymen, Protestant and Catholic—had assisted the Bureau of Labor in interviewing over one thousand migrants and tabulating the results. Thus many were interested and involved months before the legislative battle began. Church groups all over the state heard speeches and participated in discussions of migrant problems. When the legislature convened in 1959, a special group, the Oregon Committee on Migrant Affairs, was formed representing both Protestants and Catholics and all sections of the state. While this group was not as decisive as had been hoped, it did contribute to the passage of the bills. Also, clergymen from all parts of the state were alerted to counsel legislators to vote favorably on the bills each time one came up for a vote and to pressure the governor to sign each bill as it was passed.

However, it must be noted that the basic political leadership came not from the churches but from the three persons mentioned above, and especially the chairman of the interim committee. This is not to ignore or depreciate the remarkable efforts of the Oregon Council of Churches, which were substantial. But other factors at work, dividing the churches over other issues, threatened the migrant bills. For example, the question of continuing and expanding public aid in the form of textbooks to parochial schools had become a serious issue. The chairman of the interim committee had voted against a bill to extend such aid and was defeated largely because of this in his primary race for the state legislature in 1958, in the midst of the migrant study. The emergence on the Oregon scene of Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State had caused a Roman Catholic boycott of Bureau of Labor advisory committees on civil rights because of the presence of the executive secretary of the Council of Churches.

Yet both the chairman of the interim committee and the Bureau of Labor took the lead in welding a coalition of Protestants and Roman Catholics to pass the migrant bills. On one television program, arranged by the chairman of the legislative interim committee, a Protestant minister and Roman Catholic sister appeared each holding one end of a long scroll illustrating a proposed sanitation law for migrant labor camps. But this co-operation was not accomplished by an abandoning of principle. The

Council of Churches secretary was not dropped from his committee appointments, and the interim committee's bill establishing a pilot education program for migrant children gave state money only to public colleges and public school districts.

But success has its price. Participation in the push for migrant labor laws cost the Council of Churches some good will among some farmers. There were farm camps from which the migrant ministry was excluded the following summer. However, church leaders believed in the rightness of their cause and, while deploring the closing of these doors, continued supporting the legislative program.

CONCLUSION

If the churches are to be an effective force in modern society, it is essential that they develop very skillful as well as dedicated leadership—leadership that understands the structure and operation of society, the economy, and government. In the battle of Oregon's migratory labor legislation the churches initiated the effort and supplied the enlisted men, the noncommissioned officers, and the *esprit de corps*, but the generals had to be found elsewhere. Perhaps there is greater need than many realize for the churches to develop more top-flight leaders of their own. Good intentions are not enough today, if they ever were. Perhaps too there are many very able leaders not presently affiliated with organized religion who can be drafted to serve in good causes. Even modest political talents can be a decisive factor in many instances. Should the churches display a sustained interest in matters such as migratory workers, in contrast to many of the seemingly superfluous church activities, more of these talented people might even join or return to a church whose witness once more seems pertinent to the lives of men.

New Gnostic Papyri

WILLIAM R. SCHOEDEL

TWO recent archeological discoveries have had almost revolutionary significance for our understanding of Primitive Christianity. One of these, the Dead Sea Scrolls, has become famous. Less well known are the Coptic Gnostic finds from Nag Hamadi in Upper Egypt. It is the latter with which we are concerned in the following pages.

The mysteries surrounding the discovery and acquisition of the Coptic Gnostic papyri rival those contained in the documents themselves. The financial concerns of dealers, the jealousy of scholars, and tensions resulting from the political situation in Egypt have combined to retard the proper handling of the material.

Surprisingly enough the Gnostic papyri were discovered shortly before the Dead Sea Scrolls. Two dates are given, 1945 and 1946. No one seems to be quite sure which is correct. There has also been some argument about the place of discovery. But it is probably safe to say that the papyri were unearthed in the neighborhood of Nag Hamadi in Upper Egypt, near ancient Chenoboskion, about sixty miles north of Luxor, in the area formed by the eastward bend of the Nile. That would make it about three hundred miles south of Cairo. The discovery was made by Egyptian peasants who sold it for a pittance. It consisted of one large jar filled with thirteen leather-bound codices (i.e., books, not scrolls). Ultimately one of these codices—the thirteenth in Doresse's catalogue¹—found its way to Europe, where it was purchased for the Jung Institute in Zurich. The fascination that Gnosticism held for the late C. G. Jung makes its title, the "Jung Codex," an appropriate one. By 1952 the remaining twelve codices had at last been acquired by the Coptic Museum in Cairo.

A few of the documents are written in the Subakhmimic dialect of the Coptic language, a late development of ancient Egyptian. Most, however, are written in the more important Sahidic dialect, though there is a consider-

¹ Jean Doresse, *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics* (New York: Viking Press, 1959), pp. 142-45.

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able admixture of Akhmimic elements. A higher proportion than usual of Greek words is used in these documents. This is one of the indications that our Gnostic treatises were originally composed in Greek. The peculiarities of the language and the fact that these are some of the earliest Coptic manuscripts known to us² mean that they will undoubtedly shed much new light on the form, syntax, and vocabulary of the Coptic language.

Here, however, we are more interested in the significance of the Coptic Gnostic papyri for our understanding of Primitive Christianity. Their value in this connection depends primarily on the fact that for the first time we have extensive remains of Gnostic writings not mediated to us through hostile critics. We now stand a better chance of understanding Gnosticism and its relationship to the early church.

I. THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES

There are perhaps three fundamental issues which face us in trying to understand Gnosticism and upon which the new discoveries may throw some light. We should like very much to know more about the *historical roots* of Gnosticism, its *relation to Christianity*, and its *inner meaning*. All three problems are closely interrelated.

One of the most conservative and influential views of Gnosticism is that presented by Irenaeus in his full-scale attack on the movement in his treatise popularly known as *Adversus Haereses*, written about A.D. 180. To be very brief, Irenaeus regarded Gnosticism as (1) a distortion of the already inadequate thought of the Greek poets and philosophers, (2) a Christian heresy stemming from Simon Magus (mentioned in Acts 8:1-25), and (3) essentially nonsense. There is one delightful passage in which he constructs a Gnostic myth substituting pumpkins, gourds, and cucumbers for the high-sounding but empty names given to the divine emanations by the heretics.

We have been taught by modern historians and theologians, however, that the traditional view is misleading. Gnosticism for thinkers such as Bultmann represents (1) a Hellenistic articulation of ancient Oriental (particularly Iranian) religion; (2) a pre-Christian movement of which the Christian heresy was but one manifestation; and (3) a profound insight into man's existential situation.³ To Gnosticism we owe in part the theological thought of Paul and John. To be sure, these New Testament writers

² The dating of the MSS is uncertain, but it is clear that they were copied between the third and fifth centuries A.D. Cf. W. Till, "New Sayings of Jesus in the Recently Discovered Coptic Gospel of Thomas," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 41 (1959), 451. For one view of the evidence see Dorresse, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-41.

³ *Das Urchristentum* (Zurich, 1949), pp. 181-92. In the same tradition is Hans Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1958).

decisively modified the Gnostic myth through their continued affirmation of important Old Testament motifs. The proclamation which summons man to authentic existence does not derive from the Gnostic "Unknown God" or "Alien God," far removed from the hell in which we live, but from the Creator who is also the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Thus in John's theology, according to Bultmann, "Man comes to understand himself in the light of salvation not otherwise than he ought always to have understood himself in the light of creation."⁴ But without important Gnostic elements—the emphasis, for example, on "anguish" and "homesickness" as fundamental ingredients of human existence, the significance of the symbol of the "call from without" in the Gnostic understanding of salvation, the pattern of the Gnostic "redeemer," the stress on "transcendence" in Gnostic theology⁵—without such elements, we are assured, neither Paul nor John would have offered us the profound interpretation of the Christian gospel which they did.

Clearly ancient and modern theologians disagree fundamentally at this point. It is to be hoped that the new finds will enable us to test former interpretations both ancient and modern and to reach firmer conclusions.

II. THE LIBRARY AT NAG HAMADI

Unfortunately, as I have already indicated, relatively little is yet known about the content of the Gnostic papyri. From preliminary reports, however, we can gain some idea of what the library at Nag Hamadi contained. We use the term "library" since the documents found there reflect a wide range of Gnostic and, perhaps, semi-Gnostic teaching.

The thirteen codices contain forty-nine treatises in all—forty-four if duplications are discounted. According to an early study⁶ they reflect three main types of Gnosticism: (1) Sethian,⁷ (2) Valentinian (e.g., the *Gospel of Truth*⁸ and the *Gospel of Philip*⁹), and (3) Hermetic. The diversity is itself significant. What relation existed between the various Gnostic sects? Why are Hermetic tractates (which according to some scholars stand quite apart from the mainstream of Gnosticism) found here? Does this lend support to the contention that Gnosticism was a "world religion"?

⁴ *Das Evangelium des Johannes* (Göttingen, 1959), p. 27.

⁵ Jonas, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-99.

⁶ F. L. Cross (ed.), *The Jung Codex* (New York: Morehouse-Gorham, 1955).

⁷ Cf. Doresse, *op. cit.*, pp. 249-309.

⁸ Cf. Kendrick Grobel, *The Gospel of Truth* (New York and Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1960), pp. 16-29. The Valentinian provenance of the *Gospel of Truth* is denied, however, by H.-M. Schenke, *Die Herkunft des sogenannten Evangelium Veritatis* (Göttingen, 1959), pp. 15-25.

⁹ H.-M. Schenke, "Das Evangelium Nach Philippus," *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 84 (1959), 2-3.

A somewhat different classification is offered by Doresse: (1) the openly Gnostic revelations (e.g., of *Seth*, *Zoroaster*); (2) Gnostic revelations disguised as Christian truth (e.g., the *Wisdom of Jesus Christ*, the *Apocryphon of John*); (3) "the Gospels of Christianized Gnosticism" or "the authentically Christian apocrypha infiltrated by Gnostic speculation" (e.g., the Gospels of *Thomas*, *Philip*, and *Matthias*); (4) Hermetic literature.¹⁰ This classification reflects among other things a greater concern for the various degrees of Christianization of the sources. It lends support to the modern emphasis on the basic independence of Gnosticism from the early church.

Only the *Gospel of Thomas*¹¹ and the *Gospel of Truth*¹² are readily available in English at this time. Other translations, however, will probably soon appear.¹³ The reader of German periodicals has a larger number of the treatises available.¹⁴

Of the Coptic texts from Nag Hamadi only the *Gospel of Truth* and the *Gospel of Thomas* have been edited. Two more have been edited from a manuscript found (but not immediately published) many years ago, and apparently closely related to the corresponding documents discovered at Nag Hamadi.¹⁵ All other translations are dependent on one volume of photographs of part of the tenth codex.¹⁶ Another volume of photographs has, it seems, recently been released.

Despite the paucity of information, however, the new finds have already contributed to our understanding of the Gnostic movement and its relationship with the early church.

III. THE HISTORICAL ROOTS OF GNOSTICISM

The rich mythology and symbolism of the Nag Hamadi papyri have confirmed the modern view that Greek philosophy provided merely "a

¹⁰ Doresse, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-248.

¹¹ Guillaumont, Puech, Quispel, Till, Masih, *The Gospel According to Thomas* (New York: Harpers, 1959); Doresse, *op. cit.*, pp. 355-70. My own translation appears in R. M. Grant and D. N. Freedman, *The Secret Sayings of Jesus* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1960).

¹² Malinine, Puech, Quispel, *Evangelium Veritatis* (Zurich, 1956). Grobel, *op. cit.*

¹³ The *Apocryphon of John* and the *Wisdom of Jesus Christ* appear in R. M. Grant's new Gnostic reader. This also contains a new translation of the *Gospel of Truth* by W. Isenberg.

¹⁴ H.-M. Schenke has contributed translations of the *Gospel of Philip*, the *Hypostasis of the Archons*, and a treatise "concerning the beginning of the world" which has no title in the MS. These appear in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* for 1958 and 1959.

¹⁵ The *Apocryphon of John* and the *Wisdom of Jesus Christ*, in W. Till, *Die Gnostischen Schriften des Koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis 8502* (Berlin, 1955).

¹⁶ P. Labib, *Coptic Gnostic Papyri* (Cairo, 1956). This volume contains photographs of the MSS of the *Apocryphon of John*, the *Gospel of Thomas*, the *Gospel of Philip*, the *Hypostasis of the Archons*, the treatise "concerning the beginning of the world," and fragments which apparently were detached from the Jung Codex before it left Egypt. Cf. Schenke, "Vom Ursprung der Welt," *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 84 (1959), 243-44.

vehicle of expression rather than a point of departure" for the Gnostics.¹⁷ But what is the point of departure? Doresse in a preliminary sketch of the *Paraphrase of Shem* points to Iranian parallels which he regards as significant.¹⁸ It cannot be denied that the somewhat terrifying cosmology of the Iranian sources sounds familiar to the reader of Gnostic literature. Yet it must be kept in mind that there are serious problems involved in dating these sources and that they must be used with great caution.¹⁹

Despite such problems, however, there is no one who seriously denies the influence of Iran on Gnostic thought. But this no longer seems to be the main point. The problem has been refined. Through what channels did Iranian and other influences find their way into Gnosticism? There is a growing body of scholars who (partly with the help of the new discoveries) point to various movements within the Judaism of the Hellenistic period.²⁰

In this country R. M. Grant has discussed certain elements in the *Apocryphon of John* which seem to have a fairly direct connection with Jewish apocalyptic literature. The Dead Sea Scrolls, also greatly under the influence of apocalyptic ideas, are particularly relevant here. The latter are regarded as a stage in the westward advance of Iranian ideas into the Graeco-Roman world.²¹

The British scholar R. McL. Wilson has also stressed the importance of Judaism as the intermediary between Gnosticism and its sources. But he operates with a wider segment of Jewish thought.²² Philo, for example, plays a significant role in his discussion and provides the avenue whereby "the current Stoic-Platonic cosmogony with its theory of the universe and of man" came into Gnostic thought.²³

¹⁷ R. M. Grant, *Gnosticism and Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), p. 15.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 146-55. He draws particular attention, as did W. Bousset in 1907, to the opening paragraphs of the Iranian Bundahishn (i 1-19).

¹⁹ The Bundahishn, according to E. W. West, *Pahlavi Texts*, xxiv, is probably "a translation, or an epitome, of the Damdad Nask, one of the twenty-one books into which the whole of the Zoroastrian scriptures are said to have been divided before the time of Darius." The final revision seems to have been made in the twelfth century. Cf. J. Rypka, *Iranische Literaturgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1959), p. 43.

²⁰ Such a suggestion had already been made by Hegesippus, a Church Father of the second century (Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, iv, 22. 4, 7).

²¹ Grant, *Gnosticism and Early Christianity*. Others have advanced similar views. Cf. Quispel, "Der gnostische Anthropos und die jüdische Tradition," *Erasmios Jahrbuch*, 22 (1953), 195ff.; G. Kretschmar, "Zur religionsgeschichtlichen Einordnung der Gnosis," *Evangelische Theologie*, 13 (1953), 354-61.

²² *The Gnostic Problem* (London: A. R. Mowbray, 1958). Such a view enables us to account for the *Hermetica* and related literature. It seems difficult to deny that these have some relation with Gnosticism. Hermetic tracts have been found at Nag Hamadi. According to M. P. Nilsson, "Hermetism is the pagan branch of Gnosticism." Some scholars do deny the Gnostic character of this literature. See Grant, *Gnosticism and Early Christianity*, p. 148. For the influence of Hellenistic Judaism on the *Poimandres*, one of the most important Hermetic tracts, see C. H. Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1935), pp. 97-248.

²³ *The Gnostic Problem*, pp. 136, 172.

This emphasis on the Jewish sources of Gnosticism has gained independent support from G. G. Scholem's researches in Jewish mysticism²⁴ and E. R. Goodenough's work on Jewish symbols of the Graeco-Roman period.²⁵ Whether further analysis of the Nag Hamadi finds will continue to support this new emphasis remains to be seen.

IV. GNOSTICISM AND THE EARLY CHURCH

We have seen that recent scholarship continues to stress the basic independence of the Gnostic religion from Christianity. It is obvious, however, that the two movements did meet. Sometimes it even seems possible to trace the stages through which a clearly Gnostic document passed as it came under the influence of Christian ideas. W. C. van Unnik, for example, analyzes the *Apocryphon of John* in such a way that a pre-Christian element is clearly distinguishable from later Christian additions.²⁶ But this tells us little about the time and circumstances under which this fusion took place.

We may grant that in some sense Gnosticism stems from a stream of Oriental thought that antedates Christianity possibly by many centuries. But just when did this stream become "Gnostic"? That of course opens up the whole question as to what is meant by the term. How many elements of the "Gnostic myth" are necessary to have Gnosticism? What peculiar attitude toward existence does one have to have to be a Gnostic? R. M. Grant, in the work already referred to, advances the thesis that Gnosticism arose in Jewish circles as a result of the disastrous encounter with Roman armies, especially in A.D. 70 and 135. The destruction of Jewish hopes for future glory turned the apocalyptic gaze heavenward and transformed aeons of time into demonic "aeons" inhabiting the space between a God-forsaken earth and the Unknown Father of All. Thus it is not likely that the New Testament is so directly under the influence of the Gnostic myth. Even aside from this rather bold theory scholars are no longer as confident as they once were that every element in what is somewhat vaguely referred to as the "Gnostic myth" was present in whatever it was that one wishes to identify as pre-Christian Gnosticism. It has been suggested, for example, that the Gnostic "redeemer" owes a good deal to the New Testament rather than the other way around.²⁷ Thus while we cannot return to

²⁴ *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1961).

²⁵ The importance of Goodenough's work in this connection is pointed out in a review of Scholem's book by Morton Smith in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 80 (1961), 190-91.

²⁶ *Newly Discovered Gnostic Writings* ("Studies in Biblical Theology," No. 30. London: S. C. M. Press, 1960), pp. 69-79.

²⁷ Cf. S. Schulz, "Die Bedeutung neuer Gnosisfunde für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft," *Theologische Rundschau*, 26 (1960), 333-34.

Irenaeus' view that Gnosticism was a Christian heresy, it may be that the peculiarly Gnostic understanding of man and the world was articulated at about the time or shortly after the rise of Christianity.²⁸ This leaves the whole problem of the relationship between Christianity and Gnosticism wide open once again. We look to the new finds to cast further light on the problem.

In this connection the *Gospel of Thomas* has raised the greatest stir. This document consists of over one hundred "sayings" of Jesus, presumably reported by Thomas. In its present form the Gospel is undeniably Gnostic.²⁹ But there is a possibility that it contains a primitive Aramaic tradition closely allied with the Synoptic tradition. Attempts have been made to prove this theory by appealing to the textual tradition represented in Thomas,³⁰ to the primitive "form" of its sayings,³¹ and to the "Aramaisms" which it contains.³² The words of Jesus parallel to those in the New Testament show some affinity with the "Western" text which has often been thought to reflect an independent Aramaic tradition from the first century.³³ Some confusion arises, however, since there is also a close relation between the *Gospel of Thomas* and various documents of Syrian provenance.³⁴ Now it must be remembered that Syriac is closely allied to Aramaic. And in this connection it is interesting to note that the *Gospel of Philip* meditates upon the Syriac meaning of the term "Messiah!" Both the textual tradition, therefore, and the "Aramaisms" may have a less startling explanation than has been assumed. As to the presumably "primitive" form of the sayings of Jesus in the *Gospel of Thomas*, it remains to be proved that we really know the "laws" by which such oral forms develop and that we understand the possible motives that a Gnostic may have had in reshaping the tradition. In any event we clearly have interesting material to work with in our quest for the historical origins of the church.³⁵

²⁸ Cf. Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67.

²⁹ There are affinities with Naassene Gnosticism. Cf. Grant and Freedman, *The Secret Sayings of Jesus*; W. R. Schoedel, "Naassene Themes in the Coptic Gospel of Thomas," *Vigiliae Christianae*, 14 (1960), 225-34.

³⁰ Quispel, "The Gospel of Thomas and the New Testament," *Vigiliae Christianae*, 11 (1957), 189-207; "L'Evangile selon Thomas et les Clementines," *Vigiliae Christianae*, 12 (1958), 181-96; "L'Evangile selon Thomas et le Texte Occidental du Nouveau Testament," *Vigiliae Christianae*, 14 (1960), 204-15.

³¹ Quispel also develops this argument briefly; cf. *Vigiliae Christianae*, 15 (1961), 55-56.

³² R. A. Guillaumont, "Sémitismes dans les logia de Jésus retrouvés à Nag-Hamadi," *Journal Asiatique*, 246 (1958), 113-23. Not all his examples are equally convincing.

³³ Cf. Matthew Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (Oxford University Press, 1946).

³⁴ Cf. Puech, "L'Evangile selon Thomas," *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1957, 146-67.

³⁵ A balanced statement on the debate is offered by Cullmann, "Das Thomasevangelium und die Frage nach dem Alter der in ihm enthaltenen Tradition," *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 85 (1960), 321-34.

V. THE ESSENCE OF GNOSTICISM

The new discoveries have also taught us that the line between Orthodoxy and Gnosticism is not always clear. Van Unnik has expressed the opinion that the *Apocalypse of James* (from the Jung Codex) is not typically Gnostic.³⁶ Even more interesting is the *Gospel of Truth* (also from the Jung Codex), which according to some investigators was written by the heretic Valentinus at a time when he was close to the church and which may very well have been the *Gospel of Truth* referred to by Irenaeus. The Gnostic mythology is not at all pronounced, and the admirer of the Gospel of John would not be unduly repelled by the document as a whole.³⁷ H.-M. Schenke, on the other hand, regards the document as a homily, not a gospel; points out that it has no title in the Coptic manuscript (the title was taken by its first editors from words in the first line); and claims that its system is not at all like anything that we know from Valentinian sources.³⁸ This study deserves careful consideration. But whichever view is correct, this treatise presents a statement of Gnostic faith which is more attractive and interesting than usual.

How, then, are we to characterize such a document? H.-Ch. Puech said of it that it opened up to us the psychological experience of the Gnostic, i.e., the "discovery and reacquisition of our true 'ego' and at the same time . . . knowledge of God and return to Him in whom our true being has its beginning and end."³⁹ The same author suggests that for this reason the title of the manuscript in which the *Gospel of Truth* is found—the Jung Codex—is highly appropriate.

Indeed references to Jung are second only to those involving existentialism in the discussion of the essence of Gnosticism.⁴⁰ It is frequently difficult to differentiate the emphases of both interpretations. But I assume that the "Jungian" view presupposes a much more naturalistic anthropology on the whole.⁴¹ It remains to be seen which of the two interpretations will gain the greatest support from the Nag Hamadi finds. My own understanding

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 80-88.

³⁷ This view has been worked out most fully by Grobel, *op. cit.* His view rests in part on his refusal to translate two Coptic words (*tie* and *maeis*) which have been understood to reflect standard Gnostic mythology, on the grounds that their meaning is unclear. He also occasionally offers a unique translation which calls into question a Gnostic interpretation of the text; cf. especially his treatment of 31.4-8.

³⁸ *Die Herkunft des sogenannten Evangelium Veritatis*, pp. 9-25. Cf. E. Segelberg, "Evangelium Veritatis—a Confirmation Homily and its Relation to the Odes of Solomon," *Orientalia Suecana*, 8 (1959), 3-42.

³⁹ In Cross, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

⁴⁰ Cf. S. Schulz, *op. cit.*, pp. 332-33.

⁴¹ Cf. Buber, *Eclipse of God* (New York: Harper, 1957), pp. 78-91, 133-37. See also the discussion in K. F. Reinhardt, *The Existentialist Revolt* (New York: Ungar, 1952), pp. 244-67.

of the traditional sources would lead me to expect the Jungian interpretation to prove more adequate. In such an event Bultmann's treatment of Gnosticism, especially in relation to the New Testament, would be called into question at a very crucial point.

It should be clear to the reader that this discussion of the Nag Hamadi finds can claim to be nothing more than a preliminary report on what seems to be the significance of the new Gnostic papyri. We are undoubtedly in for many surprises. If I have read the signs correctly, however, it would seem that in general we are moving toward a position in our understanding of Gnosticism which is in some respects closer to that of the early church. Of course Irenaeus' view is inadequate. Gnosticism does not spring from Greek philosophy, it is not basically a Christian heresy, nor is it necessarily nonsense.⁴² Nevertheless, the profound cleavage between the New Testament and Gnosticism which the early fathers felt may well be rooted in the facts of the case.

⁴² Of all the points made by Irenaeus it is perhaps the last—that Gnosticism is essentially nonsense—that ought to be more carefully considered. For all the modern interest in religious symbolism, mythology, and depth psychology, there comes a point at which the bizarre grows out of all proportion. I would also note that the views of R. M. Grant outlined above do not necessarily represent his present views. He is now entertaining the possibility that Gnosticism arose out of Christianity, as Irenaeus asserts.

Religion and Television

NOEL JORDAN

RELIGION, I am aware, has a far larger vision and greater compass than television broadcasting. Nevertheless there does seem to be an area where religion and television meet. They both exist within a social setting and are inseparable from the social forces with which they deal. From the television point of view an enormous amount of research has been done to define this setting and to understand the complex, intangible world of popular attitudes and opinions. Psychologists, sociologists, communications specialists, all have had a go at it and between them have provided a rich fund of information about the dual role of the mass media in reflecting and influencing the attitudes and actions of the contemporary world.

And already, with this general realization, I think absurdity begins to emerge. For the very fact of collecting and interpreting this information is replete with riddles and contradictions. How does one really apply logic to the wonderfully illogical world of human thought and behavior? How does one define? evaluate? measure? The ultimate source of facts must be sought for in people themselves, yet the psychologists have made it clear that no source could be more unreliable. People, we are told, are eternally disguising and dissembling to themselves as well as to others. And the observer who must collect and arrange the data is, in this field, equally suspect, inescapably coloring his conclusions with his own unconscious distortions and deceptions. One eminent communications scholar described himself and his colleagues as a group of mathematicians confronted with fours masquerading as fives, threes as sevens, and no dependable way to distinguish one from the other.

Yet we know that opinions and attitudes do exist; they are a real and effective element in human existence, and somehow, despite our doubt and confusion, we must make an effort to understand them. So, admitting the absurdity of the whole affair, let us accept objective data when we can and insight when we must, and see where our exploration may lead us.

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I

Perhaps a good place to start will be with an examination of some of the broader characteristics of our society. One of these, a significant one in my view, is what David Riesman calls our "other-direction." The term refers to that tendency of the contemporary American to look outside himself to the group around him for guidance in establishing his personal values, attitudes, and behavior patterns. In earlier times, says Riesman, Americans were more "inner-directed," finding guidance in general principles early inculcated *in* them by elders, parents, teachers, etc. Riesman likens the inner-directed individual to a vessel controlled by a gyroscope, tending to maintain a steady course of attitude and action under the steady control of the inner man. Today's other-directed American, in contrast, is equipped with a sort of radar for detecting the attitudes and values of the group around him and shaping his own in accord with theirs. Eric Fromm, I believe, has the same thing in mind when he speaks of the "sales personality" so much in vogue today—commanding respect and approval not so much by what one *is* as by how one seems to be and in what manner one conducts himself.

Before trying to relate these tendencies to mass communication (I would think their relation to religion is self-evident), let us consider briefly a corollary of "other-direction" or the "sales personality" which Riesman believes to be characteristic of our time: tolerance. This is not the tolerance of Voltaire, with its positive posture of defending the rights of others while we fight to convert or convince, but rather tolerance stemming from a fear of offending or incurring disapproval. Since the individual gleans his convictions from the group around him, it becomes difficult for him to condemn other members of that group. This tolerance can be extended to nearly everything, the one exception being strong deviation from the group pattern. For after all the group pattern is the only bulwark standing between the individual and inner chaos.

The mass media play a key role in this other-directed process. In a sense they make it possible, for they are the instruments through which the individual's radar, extended and amplified, can operate. The mass media select promising popular attitudes from influential peer groups and pass them on to other peer groups, conferring status on these attitudes along the way. Thus the media are constantly reflecting minor changes in existing social values and at the same time spreading, reinforcing, and magnifying them.

Let us recognize here the absurdity of simplifying, as I have done, such an amorphous and intricate process, but take comfort in the fact that this kind of simplification is at least suited to our subject; for the mass media are the great simplifiers of our time. Consider the enormous amount of information made available to (perhaps I should say heaped on) the average American today. Consider how our horizons have been extended until they have passed beyond the surface of the earth and are now arching out into space. It is impossible for any of us to have more than the scantiest familiarity with all the events within this extended purview, and the great proportion of what we do perceive we must perceive second hand. Second hand from whom? From the mass media in large part. What we call our knowledge of the world around us, then, is really little more than a phantom set of pictures in our minds, formed and sketched for us by others. This is what Walter Lippmann calls the "pseudo-environment," imposed between the real environment and ourselves. The mass media in their function of sketching our pictures are forced in two ways to do a tremendous job of simplification. First, they must simplify merely to "cover the territory," to get all the pictures sketched that must be sketched. Second, they must simplify in order to make the pictures comprehensible to everyone.

The quantity and complexity of information transmitted to us, despite this herculean simplification effort, often has an enervating effect. From the individual's point of view the obligations of "being informed" are often overwhelming. How is any one of us to hold informed opinions in so many fields and at so many levels? How can we be expected to be expert in our vocations, our intellectual development, our religious growth, and our democratic responsibilities all at the same time? Absurd! Life is too short. And, sensing this, who can blame us for a recurring urge to withdraw from it all?

Researchers have noted this enervating effect and dubbed it the "narcotizing dysfunction" of the mass media. Its dimensions are spiritual as well as intellectual. We see its results in a willingness to leave our morals to our ministers and our schools to our educators—our souls to the church and our government to the politicians. We'll retreat from the sheer weight of it all, sit down to watch *Have Gun Will Travel* and *Seventy-Seven Sunset Strip*. Narcotizing dysfunction! The five-minute news roundup for our pictures, true or false, of the world. The twenty-minute sermon at church on Sunday for our pictures, true or false, of ourselves. Well, we've done our bit, tipped our hats to our obligations. That's all we can be expected to do, all we can do.

So we Americans repeatedly, proudly describing ourselves as "the best informed people in the world," find ourselves often with more confusion than information, more moved to escape than to take responsible action. Is there some absurdity here? How is religion to find a useful, constructive place in this situation? How can it exert pressure in our society to make our individual attitudes more than the feeble echoes of the attitudes of others around us? Let us go a step further in our examination of American attitudes.

Allport ascribes four dimensions to attitudes: direction, degree, intensity, and salience. The *direction* of an attitude, for example, might be for the Republicans, against the Democrats. If this attitude is shared by a number of others, its *degree* will be proportionately great. The *intensity* of this attitude will determine how strongly this group holds its Republican preference. And its *salience* will determine how prominent it is in the minds and acts of the entire electorate.

The direction of attitudes is very hard to change when both sides of an issue have access to public attention. There is evidence that the mass media can produce change in a free situation, but such change very rarely occurs on a significant scale. For one thing, the media reach mostly those concerned about given issues, i.e., those who have already made up their minds and are least likely to change. For another, there is a strong tendency for audiences to seek spokesmen for their own side and thus the media are generally exerting their influence on those already converted.

With audiences seeking reinforcement for existing bias rather than information, it seems to me the effect of the media on the direction and degree of attitudes is often vastly exaggerated. Intensity and salience, however, are a different matter. The simple fact of repetition can have a pronounced effect—particularly on salience. This is how the television advertiser has succeeded in planting the pause that refreshes and the thinking man's filter so securely in the American consciousness. And that advertiser well knows the value of salience to the merchandising of his product.

Although the aims of television advertisers and churchmen are hardly of the same order, some of the principles and concepts considered here may properly apply to both. The direction of American attitudes toward religion is, I think, overwhelmingly favorable. So is the degree. Again, however, intensity and salience are a different matter. This is scarcely surprising. Lacking active opposition, attitudes and values have a tendency to become dormant. Public opinion, researchers tell us, is latent until an issue arises in the group, an issue accompanied by conflict, anxiety, or frustration. It

is only when their values and attitudes are menaced that people, individually and in the mass, become actively involved. Thus, if American religious attitudes were exposed to attack, we might see a substantial increase in their intensity and salience.

Consider what an absurdity we have discovered here. It seems that the most invigorating thing for American religion might be a concerted attack on it. Communism has posed the threat of such an attack, but remotely rather than immediately, at a distance rather than within the fabric of our own social patterns. By the same token one can speculate that an unshackled and aggressive Communist element in this country could perform a great service by rearming and rejuvenating our American faith in democracy. Why do those who purport to defend democracy, then, muzzle such attacks? Is it lack of faith in their own convictions, perhaps? Are some church groups hampered by a similar lack of faith?

II

I have dwelt on some of the paradoxes in popular attitudes because they seem to me to be at the heart of all effective broadcasting—religious or other. And scholarly research has supplied a valuable fund of objective information about these attitudes and their relationship to actions. But the correlation of this objective information with the actual process of communication still seems to present many difficulties. It has been my experience that the professional in TV, for example (writer, director, actor, etc.), ordinarily knows very little of the scholar's work. Yet the professional can still be eminently effective in communicating his ideas to people. Conversely many scholars, thoroughly familiar with the lore of their colleagues, are relatively ineffective in capturing the attention and allegiance of television audiences. Perhaps there is something about the communications process, something about the unpredictability of the human animal, that resists the application of objective formulas. My own experience tells me that scientific and analytical objectivity has, at the working level, very little to do with success in shaping the attitudes of the mass. In fact it may even be that in some ways such objectivity tends to inhibit the effectiveness of communication.

I hope I am suggesting here more than the mere fact that people in the mass do not act from rational bases. I think the twentieth century has pretty well shaken the eighteenth-century delusion of rational social development. I hope I am going much further, suggesting that the living communication process and the objective analysis of that process have to date found no meeting ground. If this view is correct, knowledge in the

field of communication obviously is not power. And if this view is correct we have found another absurdity to add to our list.

It may be of course that this last absurdity is more apparent than real. It may be that the correlation between knowledge and effective communication has merely eluded us up to now, perhaps because of lack of communication between the "knowers" and the "doers" in the field. But we still have not escaped absurdity, for now we are faced with the ridiculous picture of communication progress being blocked by a breakdown of communication.

To illustrate, the communication scholar enjoins us to "take advantage of primacy and recency" if we want to get attention and eventual commitment from an audience. The TV professional tersely says, "Start where people are." Do they mean the same thing? Of course they do. But the scholar is not satisfied with such loose agreement. "What do you mean by 'where people are,' " he asks; "How do you know where they are?" "Well," says the TV pro, "I know what people are like. I know their interests, their wants, their prejudices. I know what they think they believe and what they need to believe and what they want to believe, and what will involve their emotions and evoke their warmth or hatred. I know what they're ready to hear and able to understand. That's where people are."

"And how do I know?" says the TV pro, "I just know. I'm like them. I sense them. Like Walt Whitman, I contain multitudes. I know—that's how I know." At this point of course our scholar becomes apoplectic, and communication on the subject abruptly ends.

So this brings us to the same absurdity from which we started: namely, that I am speaking on religious communication to religious leaders at all. For you are the professionals! You *do* it! You know where your people are, in your terms, just as the TV man knows the TV audience in his terms. (Many of these seem to be the same terms with different names, I might add.) Yet I have been playing the part of the scholar, rambling on about attitudes and opinions as though through objective analysis I expected to shed some new and splendid light on what you do every day.

I must confess this absurdity is of my own making. What was intended, I think, when I was invited to speak in the first place, was a specific lecture on television techniques as related to religious programs: camera shots, script formats, pictorial continuity, performers' posture, the whole catalogue of terms, abbreviations, phrases, and jargon that has grown even faster than TV itself. I can only plead that by dealing with such matters I should have implied something I most certainly do not believe, namely that

technique is the key to good television. What I really want to say is: Do not be misled by the purveyors of technique. I do not deny for a moment that how something is said (technique) is vitally important to the intent and the impact of what is said (substance), but I do think the apparent complexity of putting on TV programs has been grossly exaggerated.

Perhaps religious broadcasters already know this and I am belaboring a deceased donkey. It is my observation, though, that through some extraordinary reversal of values the technician has somehow become the dictator of what is done on television. Men who have something to say, something important to say, seem to approach the omnipotent technician with timidity and awe. Exposed as they are to the jumble of studio terms, shunted around among cables and cameras, barked at by hordes of young men with earphones, they seem quickly and inevitably to be convinced of their own insignificance. The men-with-something-to-say have no cameras or earphones or monitors or even the vocabulary that goes with such paraphernalia; so obviously they cannot be very important! Such men, chafing a little on their relegation to insignificance, eventually begin to agitate for technicians of their own. A technician, as the world turns, is far less dictatorial if he's on your payroll and not someone else's. So radio-television-film departments—or bureaus or divisions or branches—are born to otherwise uncontaminated organizations. These newly created "house technicians" now do behave with more deference toward the men-with-something-to-say. They even listen occasionally to suggestions from the men-with-something-to-say. They won't follow such suggestions, of course, because after all the men-with-something-to-say don't know anything about television, but they are polite and explain why it has to be done their way and no other.

What is the consequence of this technician-dominated hierarchy? What kind of religious television does it produce? Why, the innocuous kind, of course! If the technicians are TV pros, they know they must "start where people are" and they interpret this as conforming to the existing mental set, existing values, likes and dislikes of the *mass* audience. If they are communication scholars, they know that "changes of evaluation are always in the direction of increased congruity" for the *mass* audience. They know in either case that to struggle against the tide, to present challenges, to disparage—even to question—existing tendencies would be absurd. And technicians don't believe in absurdity.

Innocuousness, then, is a must. Anything else is bound to offend someone. And our technicians know the mass media primer: "Mass media will aid only so long as no one is annoyed."

Practically, then, if the religious communicator finds himself face to face with an essentially irreligious audience, what, by this philosophy, will he do? In self-deprecatory tones he will try to soften their antipathy a little. "Now this religious business," he'll say, "it isn't really so bad. Oh, I know it gets a little corny sometimes, and I know you have other things to do, but give it a chance once in a while. It has some pretty good things about it too." He is starting where people are, he is trying to modify, not convert; he is not annoying anybody.

But in America, of course, we are not faced with an essentially irreligious audience, so let's take a case that is a little closer to the facts. Let's take the religious communicator facing a somewhat disinterested though not irreligious audience; an apathetic or only superficially concerned audience. What now, by this philosophy, will he do? In friendly but assured tones he will try to arouse their interest a little. "Now this religion," he'll say, "really has something to offer—and on your terms, too! I know you have other things to do, but this religion can help you do them! I know you're not too concerned with it right now, but you are concerned with how to win friends and influence people. And how to get ahead in the world. And how to cope with trouble in your lives—you know, irascible bosses, delinquent children, demanding wives, emotional stress and strain. Try it. Take a little dose now and then—with water if you don't like the taste. In some ways it's even better than Miltown and you don't need a doctor's prescription." He is starting where people are, he is trying to modify, not convert; he is not annoying anybody.

There is a third possibility: that of our religious communicator facing a genuinely religious audience, concerned and committed. But it seems to me futile to pursue the narrative further at this point, for I think our communicator is not facing such an audience—not in the mass media in America today.

So let us stay in the context of the second possibility I just mentioned, the one I think really applies to religious TV today: the somewhat apathetic and superficially concerned audience. What, in actuality, is our religious broadcaster doing? Isn't he doing what, by his philosophy, he should do? He is tailoring his message for his audience. Obediently he is letting the technicians define the shape and quality of that tailoring. He is avoiding offense to anyone. He is engrossed with the quantity potential of TV and impressed with the cumulative figures interpreted for him by the technicians from the rating services. Even if, in any other terms, his significance to his audience and his importance to the world may not seem very imposing,

when he starts evaluating his message in terms of numbers he finds a pretty good case for his efforts. And the result of all these things is a congeries of inspirational talks, a series of twentieth-century morality plays, a sort of celestially oriented Loretta Young Show.

Isn't it inevitable? What else can he do without committing the cardinal TV sins: of starting where people are not? of striving to convert instead of merely to modify? of annoying quite a lot of hitherto friendly people? Without, in short, being *absurd*?

III

Well, *is* it all so inevitable? What might religious broadcasters do if suddenly they were not opposed to absurdity? Might they start tailoring their message for the truth as they see it, willy-nilly and undiluted, instead of for the inclinations of the audience? Might they start looking for and listening to the poets in their midst, instead of the technicians surrounding them? Might they start evaluating their efforts in terms of the eternal forces of the human soul instead of numbers? Might they find themselves caring less if their programs did not look exactly like Hollywood's or Madison Avenue's—did not have polish, or all-star casts, or the benediction of the communications researchers?

Might they turn away from the gentle and innocuous drama of our day to the hard and striking materials of documentary television? Might they stand face to face with an audience and face to face at the same time with the ominous portents of our time—speaking not of the safe, the trivial middle-class problems of the mass, but of the serious sickness in the middle-class soul? Might they examine that sickness as it pervades our literature and drama today, not shying away from chapter and verse and name and page?

Might they be questioning the excesses in advertising today, advertising which pervades every corner of our lives? Might they be definite in condemning the materialism and cynicism that advertising has fostered? Might they examine the ethics, or lack of ethics, in American business, the kickbacks, the entertainment budgets, the annual flood of Christmas gifts that flow through every channel of commerce as a sanctified sort of—should I say bribery or inducement?

Might they be talking of the disparity between our material wealth and the quarter of the world's people who live on the edge of starvation?

Might they confront the harsh realities of our political life, of all political life perhaps, as well as repeating the myths and slogans?

No doubt there are many reasons, good and cogent ones, why religious broadcasting eschews such unpleasant aspects of our lives. Perhaps these are temporal matters rather than spiritual ones, and should not be treated by our churchmen. Perhaps the good may better be discovered and portrayed in the less disturbing aspects of life today.

Indeed, the alternatives I have suggested may be imprudent, impractical, and futile as well as absurd. Yet I must confess that I cannot shake the feeling that there is diffidence in this somewhere, diffidence I think we can ill afford for fear that it may tend to vitiate the message and mission that Christianity has for man. Perhaps it is more than diffidence. Perhaps it is fear. I am thinking, specifically, of three fears that seem usually to escort the clergy (as well as the laity) into television's domain.

One is the fear of opposition. It seems to be all around us. Only a year or two ago great consternation was aroused when a debating team from one of our national service academies proposed to debate the advantages and disadvantages of Communism. The debate was canceled. Even more recently, a witness before a Congressional committee angrily denounced a movie as un-American because it suggested that there were poor people who were unhappy.

The second fear is the fear of offending. As President Kennedy has said, "Everyday life is becoming so saturated with the tremendous power of mass communication that any unpopular or unorthodox course arouses a storm of protest." Is a storm of protest then so bad? Wasn't it St. Paul who said: "Be not conformed to this world"?

The third fear is the fear of the technician. For through his hands, under his baleful eye and beetled brow, all television fare must pass. Here is an odd reversal. The master comes to the servant for what he should do and how he should do it.

To oppose, to offend, to ignore the experts—these are indeed absurd injunctions. I certainly cannot deny it. But the great things of the world, whether good things or ill, the things of magnitude and effect, have they not been always absurd? Wasn't it absurd that Alexander of Macedon should conquer the world? That Copernicus should maintain the world moved? That Columbus should sail west to India? And, perhaps the ultimate absurdity, that a carpenter of Galilee should challenge the wisdom, the knowledge, and the power of the Roman world?

Do not listen to technicians like me. Send for your poets, and—sparing them technician's experience, technician's advice and caution—turn them free.

Religion and the Arts

The Poetry of Wallace Stevens: A Christian Context

JEREMY INGALLS

MASTER of the arresting image and of multiple subtleties in rhythm and tone, Wallace Stevens has employed these skills toward the evocation, both gay and adroit, of significant insights into the processes of knowledge and the components of reality. His poems, by their manifest concerns, invite discussion not alone within the record of the arts but within the entire contemporary record of ideas and attitudes.

That his *Collected Poems*,¹ together with the prose pieces and further poems gathered in *Opus Posthumous*,² invite inquiry as to Stevens' kinships in the history of ideas neither augments nor diminishes his deserved eminence as a poet. His resistances, indifferences, or affirmations as to any formal religion or philosophy remain, as for other major poets, irrelevant to his achievement measured as artist among artists. But no major poet functions, as impact, solely within the category of the arts. And Stevens himself, in both his poems and his prose, makes clear his own view that the poet's function is always kin to, even though not identical with, all other activities involving awareness and communication.³

As an active inquirer into process and reality Stevens recognizes the relation of his own function as a poet to that of both philosophers and theologians.⁴ His version of process and reality also includes emphasis on an inescapable conditioning of individual insights by each individual's surroundings.⁵ Since Stevens' environment included a Christian tradition which is, whether active or somnolent, still a traceable factor in the east-

¹ *The Collected Poems of Wallace Stevens* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1954). The quoted passages from the poems are from this volume and are used with the permission of the publisher.

² Edited by Samuel French Morse (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957).

³ See "The Whole Man: Perspectives and Horizons" and "On Poetic Truth," *Opus Posthumous*, pp. 233 and 237.

⁴ See "A Collect of Philosophy," *Opus Posthumous*, pp. 183-202, and "On Poetic Truth."

⁵ See, e.g., the poems "Anecdote of Men by the Thousands" and "A Mythology Reflects Its Religion."

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coast America of his life and major work, we may fairly inquire whether a Christian context pertains in his poetry.

An answer, whether *yes*, *no*, or *maybe*, lies outside the established fact of his eminence as artist among artists. But as related to a major artist the answer can nonetheless be significant. In the particular confrontations of our century, his *yes*, *no*, or *maybe* becomes an operative factor among portents and challenges as to the vitality of a Christian view of experience.

I. THE GENERAL CONTEXT

Within those of Stevens' poems most often anthologized occur passages in jocular tone toward topics often supposed to be sacrosanct among Christians. Whether this gaiety is that of a casual outsider or medicinal satire from inside, as with Rabelais, Erasmus, Cervantes, and Swift, becomes part of the query. Poems which readily come to mind are probably "A High-Toned Old Christian Woman," "Peter Quince at the Clavier," and the much reprinted "Sunday Morning." That these poems all occur in his earliest book (*Harmonium*, 1923) is relevant but not as superficially relevant as might at first be assumed. A significant context, whether or not the locus happens to be Christian, does not obtain from a few poems examined in isolation. Neither does it emerge from a mere catalog of images and allusions.

References to saints and angels, for example, occur often throughout Stevens' work, and often in poems more cordial than caricature. But such terminology is equally accessible to poets with secular predilections as also, obviously, to Buddhists, to followers of Islam, and to several faiths with links to old Iranian thought. Allusions to the sound of the wind and to seeing imperfectly as through a glass also occur rather often in Stevens' poems. Symbolic uses of *candle*, *fire*, and *light* are also characteristic. A metaphysical aura and, increasingly in his later work, the use of the term *metaphysical* are further familiar aspects of Stevens' poetry. But a use of traditional allusions and evocation of a metaphysical ambience need not be an index to a specifically Christian metaphysics. Such resources could serve as well a poet's debate in which all listeners, including philosophers and theologians, are merely urged to rigorous observation and reflection. There is the note in Stevens' prose jottings, "Perhaps it is of more value to infuriate the philosophers than to go along with them."⁶

As with the traditional allusions, Stevens' semidramatized figures need not, of themselves alone, indicate Judaic, Hellenic, or Hellenistic contexts,

⁶ "Adagia," *Opus Posthumous*, p. 166.

either *passim* or germane to Christian philosophy and literature. His *scholar* and *rabbi*, for example, together with *priest*, *archbishop*, *sexton*, *chieftain*, *hero*, *voyager*, *soldier*, *ephebe* (the newly initiate citizen) can serve a secular meditation on the roles of guide and guard, inquirer, teacher, and student. Up through his middle years the scholar figure in Stevens' poems is sometimes classical or medieval Chinese as well as occasionally medieval European. And all these figures emerge not as fixed historical references but as functional contemporaries, continuing roles in every city and farmland.

Stevens makes frequent use of dramatized figures not only as general types but particular inventions, as Hoon, Phosphor, the Man with the Blue Guitar, Mon Oncle, Canon Aspirin, Professor Eucalyptus. Any query into ideas informing Stevens' work must, therefore and obviously, be wary of that most insidious of literary pratfalls, the bathos of identifying arbitrarily one or another character in a poem as the poet's self-portrait. Whatever a conditioning context of Stevens' work may be, such context is not wholly fixed by any one or two of his characters. A conditioning context, whatever it may be, emerges not from scattered factors but in a convergence of factors.

A complete retrospective reading in Stevens discovers that a large percentage of his allusions derive from biblical sources together with materials from later attitudes and customs in the history of Christendom. His prose meditations on poets and poetry recurrently include a premise which can justly be called deistic, whether or not the datum is specific to the history of Christian thought. He writes in a prose memorandum of 1940: "The major poetic idea in the world is and always has been the idea of God," further expounded as, "The knowledge of poetry is a part of philosophy and a part of science; the import of poetry is the import of the spirit."⁷ His *Adagia* include "The poet is the priest of the invisible" and "God is in me or else is not at all" and "Feed my lambs on the bread of living . . . the glory of god is the glory of the world. . . . To find the spiritual in reality . . . to be concerned with reality." His late and formally composed "Collect of Philosophy" includes, in a context without banter, the comment: "If the idea of God is the ultimate poetic idea, then the idea of the ascent into Heaven is only a little below it."⁸

At seventy-two Stevens, addressing the Poetry Society of America, remarked with emphasis that "to every faithful poet the faithful poem is an act of conscience."⁹ When, three years earlier, addressing a group of

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⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 169, 172, 193.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

students, he chose to develop a particularly memorable analogy from the Christian liturgical year, we may fairly assume his choice was also a considered act of conscience.

In this address at Bard College he was earnestly concerned to establish the point that public honor accorded to the "something unreal" which is poetry is both a real and realistic recognition of a reality which includes poetry and both those who compose it and those who honor it. This order of recognition, he says, we perform "on a large scale when we go to church on Sunday, when we celebrate days like Christmas or the much more impressive days at the end of Lent. On Easter the great ghost of what we call the next world invades and vivifies this present world, so that Easter seems like a day of two lights, one the sunlight of the bare and physical end of winter, the other the double light."¹⁰

Both Stevens' poems and his occasional prose stress the practice of poetry as a validation of the spiritual or metaphysical, an integral element in an adequate realism, in *reality*. Whether this relatedness has a direct or an only collateral kinship to Christian faith and worship becomes the further question. We may at least carry into a retrospect upon his poems one further prose passage, from a late prose piece entitled "On Poetic Truth." Its culminating paragraph expressly correlates the work of poets and the work of theologians.

In his earlier paragraphs "On Poetic Truth" Stevens emphasizes that novelties in the technique and language of poetry are inevitable. He points out that whenever, from the sciences, from changing orders of social experience, and from the always unique observations of individuals, new perceptions emerge, a crisis in communication occurs. Part of the poet's conscience includes, in consequence, the need and the will to articulate these new perceptions in relation to older ranges of awareness. Without this effort, Stevens reminds us, new perceptions unnecessarily distort some older perceptions which are still valid or, contrariwise, inherited fashions of perceiving and speaking may unnecessarily obstruct new data which are valid. As his concluding point he observes and welcomes the fact that this need to sustain free awareness and adequate communication is recognized not only among poets but also by several contemporary theologians.

Referring implicitly to several contemporary European and American Christian theologians, Stevens commends their sense of urgency and welcomes their "insistence on a reality which forces itself upon our consciousness and refuses to be managed and mastered." Adding that both art and religion

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

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¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

"have to mediate for us a reality not ourselves," he concludes: "The supreme virtue here is humility, for the humble are they that move about the world with the love of the real in their hearts."¹¹

II. STEVENS' SAINT JOHN VERSUS BACK-ACHES

From early and middle years on to the final poems in his seventies Wallace Stevens often piques or tweaks at vanities and bigotries, social, esthetic, and intellectual, not excluding some of his own personal foibles, and inclusive of familiar vanities and bigotries within Christendom. But the pricking to awareness is most often jovial, the balanced reporting of an observer who judges not that he be not judged.

An instance is the balancing of characters in the familiar "Sunday Morning." Literary commentators often allude to the poem as though the only character were the woman who, on a Sunday morning at home, ponders the immediacies of the present and ceremonies of worship and exaltation from the past, including the voice crying of "The tomb in Palestine." But her ponderings are introduced and surrounded by those of the other character, the reporting monologist, who reports his own kinds of awareness also. His awareness culminates in his perception of doves which, however much "casual pigeons," nonetheless in the evening light make:

Ambiguous undulations as they sink,
Downward to darkness, on extended wings.

Composed several decades later the poem "Saint John and the Back-Ache" shows a similar, and long since characteristic, balancing of characters. The aging debater, "Back-Ache," in colloquy on the mind as "force" versus the world as "presence," does not dismiss Saint John but concedes:

It may be, may be. It is possible.
Presence lies far too deep, for me to know
Its irrational reaction, as from pain.

For both the early "Sunday Morning" and the late "Saint John and the Back-Ache" the ultimate context is neither solely the view of the meditating woman nor that of the reporting monologist, neither the uncertain concession from "Back-Ache" nor the impressively eloquent urgency of Saint John. The ultimate context includes all the speakers. It is Stevens the poet who evokes them all, including the evoked Saint John, whose attributed words, though contemporary in composition, are

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

with clear intention a nonironic redaction of Saint John of the Apocalypse, as culminating record in the New Testament.

Stevens has long since evoked the character Crispin (*i.e.*, "the delicate one"), shedding young illusions and egotisms in "The Comedian as the Letter C." Two decades later Stevens can also evoke the perhaps most powerfully immediate vision of the Christ in contemporary literature, the "rugged roe" in "Chocorua to Its Neighbor." In all of Stevens' poems a continuing context is his "love of the real" as essentially *agape* and *caritas*. In Stevens the putatively unique vision of every individual is realistically a datum in reality. And for Stevens the phenomena of this earth are neither stultified as among the materialists, attenuated as among transcendentalists, nor absolutized as among idealists.

Closely read, Stevens' poems are indeed foils to "infuriate," by their incisive modulations, all the usual schools of philosophy from classical Greece, Rome, India, and China on to this moment. The materialist, for the moment supposing he has an ally in Stevens' detailed attention to the phenomena of this earth, is very soon put off by Stevens' equally articulate awareness that not only in the terms of Heraclitus but also as in New Testament terms we "shall be changed." The transcendentalist, in his turn, supposes he may find an ally in Stevens. In dip-and-scan reading, Stevens' exaltation of the weathers of this world may suggest an iconography of the divine. But such readers are soon put off by Stevens' insistence upon the significance of each natural phenomenon as a "thing itself" and every human being as uniquely a "force" irrespective of role or status—*e.g.*, "Notes Toward a Supreme Fiction":

It is of him, ephebe, to make, to confect
The final elegance, not to console
Nor sanctify, but plainly to propound.

The idealist also takes his turn. He may expect to claim Stevens of Berkeley's party because of passages on the transformation of physical events in the resolving and integrating mind—or for Plato's party from occasional allusions to Plato and for such titles as "Ideas of Order" and "It must be abstract." But the professional idealist is as soon trapped, perhaps in Stevens' "Crude Foyer" where

. . . there lies at the end of thought
A foyer of the spirit.

In which we read the critique of paradise
And say it is the work
Of a comedian, this critique

and comes to discover and to be "content" in the discovery that, since language has no images except from temporal phenomena and relationships, a paradise "there" is a locus which "turns out to be here."

Though Stevens' expert articulation of the ambiguities of human experience, as in his *where, there, here* series in "Crude Foyer," should be a caution signal to the hasty reader, an existentialist of a non-Christian persuasion may as likely begin to think of adding Stevens to his comfort, even perhaps by supposing that "Crude Foyer" itself intends only *simplicissimus* deflation of all *paradisos*. An eager existentialist may even think of quoting, albeit without context, the now familiar prose passage from Stevens' *The Necessary Angel*: "The great poems of heaven and hell have been written and the great poem of earth remains to be written."¹² The discovery, on careful reading, that Stevens intends and uses his adjective "great" in each instance with love and without irony may, for the pursuing existentialist, lead to an even more unsettling discovery. He may take up, and as soon be affronted by, the one of the poems which of itself is a clue on the way to a "great poem of earth," Stevens' "An Ordinary Evening in New Haven."

Though "An Ordinary Evening in New Haven" includes characters, the familiar ephebe and the familiar annotating scholar as well as Professor Eucalyptus and a "figure like Ecclesiast," it is the poet himself whose words in his own person introduce and surround the words of the other speakers. It is the poet in his own voice who affirms:

Say next to holiness is the will thereto
And next to love is the desire for love,
The desire for its celestial ease in the heart.

. . . We seek
Nothing beyond reality. Within it

Everything, the spirit's alchemicana
Included, the spirit that goes roundabout
And through included, not merely the visible

The solid, but the moveable, the moment,
The coming on of feasts and the habits of saints,
The pattern of the heavens and the high night air.

And the poet moves on directly to the major turn in the poem's opening argument:

In the metaphysical streets of the physical town
We remember the lion of Juda. . . .

¹² (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951). P. 142.

And though, as the poet recognizes, in the passage of time "the phrase goes weak," he continues directly:

. . . The fact takes up the strength
Of the phrase. It contrives the selfsame evocation
And Juda becomes New Haven or else must.

Not all readers may have Stevens' own ready resources in New Testament allusion, but here as in very many Stevens passages the allusion is concise and precise—in this case, even to the particular English spelling *Juda*, which, unlike the general orthography *Judah*, is familiar in a specific biblical passage to those accustomed to using the King James Version of the Bible. In sum, we are again in the company of Saint John of the Apocalypse. Stevens' allusion is concisely to the fifth chapter of Revelation, in which John sees the future as a book which "no man in heaven, nor in earth, neither under the earth, was able to open, . . . neither to look thereon" until, he learns, the Christ "the Lion of the tribe of Juda, the Root of David, hath prevailed to open the book, and to loose the seven seals thereof." (Rev. 5:4-5.)

In "An Ordinary Evening in New Haven," the last of his long poems, Stevens gathers up and reconsiders the major themes in all his earlier poems. That he sees them all as coming to this "New Haven" integration is signaled in the reappearance within this poem of his old familiar Man with the Blue Guitar, the *hidalgo*, *son of someone*. Though, as Stevens indicates, the *hidalgo* may emerge in many guises, this *hidalgo* is a visualization for the poet of that aspect of reality which, as the human imagination, is at once the humanness and the spirituality potential in and attending on human beings. "An Ordinary Evening in New Haven" culminates in reminders, for which Stevens' briefer poems are specific notations, that the "less legible meanings of sound" and "the inner men behind the outer shields" and every event, however much it may appear merest incident, "A woman writing a note and tearing it up," are all significant items in the process which is reality. The poem concludes:

It is not in the premise that reality
Is a solid. It may be a shade that traverses
A dust, a force that traverses a shade.

For Stevens that which is *reality*, as this *reality* emerges in his established sequence of his poems, is continuously both in time and beyond time and validly "thing itself" in all its phases, neither "merely" material nor "merely" spiritual. Within Stevens' *reality* the things of this earth, inclusive of moon, sun, cats, pineapples, and politics, are neither unimportant nor

all-important. In Stevens' *reality* there is attrition of statuses and statues, but men and women, and as both flesh and spirit, are each of them uniquely "thing itself," not merely gun fodder, not merely employables, not merely objects for compassion, not measureable by heroics or temporal halos, but each valid "to propound." Not in a miscellany of details but as informing and culminating, Stevens' *reality*, as within the ranges of what is accounted "real" in various philosophies, appears near-kin to a Christian realism of the kind which, also pertinently, has major roots in the Fourth Gospel and in Saint John's Revelation.

That the courtesies Stevens has dramatized as exchanged between Saint John and "Back-Ache" are genuine courtesies is not only evident in the tone of the poem itself but has auxiliary confirmation in such poems as "Description Without Place," in which Stevens reminds us:

Description is revelation . . .
A text we should be born that we might read
More explicit than experience of the sun
And moon, the book of reconciliation,
Book of a concept only possible
In description, canon central in itself,
The thesis of the plentifullest John.

In conversation with Saint John the speaker called "Back-Ache" is a projection of the aching-back-toward the things of this earth, since they are the most nearly accessible resources of human perception. But it is an aching-back in humility not in arrogance, the balanced recognition of human limitations, a poet's particular gift and grace.

This is a grace which does not doubt that we can "believe without belief, beyond belief" and which, distinct from a contra-Christian kind of humanism, does not arrogate human accomplishments to humanity but remembers that

We say ourselves in syllables that rise
From the floor, rising in speech we do not speak.¹³

And past three score years and ten the poet tells himself:

You were not born yet when the trees were crystal
Nor are you now, in this wakefulness inside a sleep.¹⁴

III. VISIBILITY OF CONTEXT

When in his last years Stevens, speaking in his own voice, writes:

We say that God and the imagination are one . . .
How high that highest candle lights the dark¹⁵

¹³ "The Creations of Sound."

¹⁴ "Long and Sluggish Lines."

we are no longer at much risk in speculating that here, and also through his poems of earlier decades, *candle* includes in its connotations "the spirit of man is the candle of the Lord" (Prov. 20:27) and the words of the Christ that a candle is not to be hidden (as a talent is not to be buried) but set "on a candlestick and it giveth light to the whole house." And converging evidence increases the probability that Stevens' allusions to the wind, not only in frequency but in placing, as in the concluding poem of his *Harmonium* of 1923 and in the concluding poem of his collected work, involve Job's "remember that my life is wind," transmuting to the wind analogy "so is everyone that is born of the Spirit" of Christ's words to Nicodemus, as of John's Gospel.

A Christian context is in Stevens, substantial and cumulative. Why, we must next ask, has it been largely overlooked or ignored in most thus far published literary comment on Stevens?

That it has thus far often been overlooked has probably occurred in part because of Stevens' oblique method of using his New Testament allusions, a method consonant with his thesis that new data of perception in relation to older data require new modulations in style and vocabulary. When older style has, after centuries, worn thin or become mere prose, we still have both a resource and an obligation, as he expresses it in his poem for Arthur Powell:

Out of the spirit of the holy temples,
Empty and grandiose, let us make hymns
And sing them in secret as lovers do.

And, as Stevens has his *hidalgo* advise, the poet is to say:

That it is this or that it is that
But do not use the rotted names.¹⁸

Though old terminology can lose impact, that which an old term represented can still be actual and valid and, when this is so, we have an obligation to say that it still "is this," though now saying "is this" in a partly new, uniquely ordered, or in any case attention-reviving vocabulary.

For putatively anti-angelic listeners Stevens may, for example, employ a contrived quaintness of title such as "Angel Among Paysans" to persuade his "countrymen" into a poem which affirms that annunciatory moments of spiritual insight still in reality occur and, though always brief moments, cannot be expunged from reality. Or he builds what appears to be merely

¹⁸ "Final Soliloquy of the Interior Paramour."

¹⁹ "The Man With the Blue Guitar," section xxxii.

a folk-fanciful entertainment, as in "Chocorua to Its Neighbor," but through this facade leads the listener beyond wariness into encounter with a central report, which in this poem is a vigorous and moving vision of the risen Christ, the "megalfre," the "rugged roy." In this anagogic New England narrative the Christ emerges from the night sky to meditate upon the mountain in time of war. And as the mountain "out of sleep" remembers:

He was more than an external majesty,
Beyond the sleep of them that did not know,
More than a spokesman of the night to say
Now, time stands still. He came from out of sleep,
He rose because men wanted him to be.

Even for those who have never known or have forgotten the biblical context of "watchman, what of the night?" and more especially St. Paul's phrase for the Christ as "firstfruits of them that slept," the vision reported by "Chocorua" rouses awareness through Stevens' own vigor of language.

The poet is concerned with rousing this awareness, accepting the injunction to "feed lambs" in the Christic intention, irrespective of footnotes. But more than Stevens' own oblique use of New Testament reference, several preconceptions still persisting among Stevens' listeners regarding "Christian" contexts doubtless contribute to lack of alertness for the context as it functions for Stevens. For many, pre-Galilean views such as extreme asceticism or dualism (flesh *versus* spirit; earth *versus* afterworld) are accepted synonyms for "Christian." Such readers do not readily look for a Christian context in a poet who celebrates the sensuous even when he speaks of reality as not "a solid." It also may not occur to them to wonder why Stevens' poems concerning love between human beings show a vigor and dignity very different from popular erotic verse. They are not likely to guess the premise of Stevens' absorption of *eros* into *agape*.

Blindness to context can also ensue from the further still common preconception that poems rich in humor are, by that fact, outside a "Christian" context. This notion persists despite Rabelais and Erasmus, despite Chaucer, and, need it be said, despite the central graceful ironic humor in many of the replies of the Christ, as in challenge to the woman at the well and his challenges not only to Pharisees and Sadducees but also among his own companions. Oblique and ironic, as contrasted to "savage," genres of Christian satire always come tardily into appreciative literary comment. Stevens quietly nudges the predilection of the "thin men of Haddam" for "golden birds" while walking blind to both blackbirds and women.¹⁷ He

¹⁷ "Thirteen Ways of Looking at a Blackbird."

teases the "High-Toned Old Christian Woman" who may "wince" at reminders that even "religious" earthlings are on earth earthy. Readers who presuppose that humor is incompatible with a Christian context catch only half the point—and miss half the fun.

A further contributing tardiness probably ensues from his use of a central Galilean Christian view of reality—"central" being, by the way, one of Stevens' key terms. Professional commentators are quick to discuss Christian context if they recognize clues chiefly from Roman Catholic or Anglo-Catholic liturgy or pick up from extraneous biography the notion of a specifically Calvinist or fixed fundamentalist commitment. But such commentators often under-read works with a "central" Christian context as presumably vaguely humanist, vaguely existentialist, or mildly epicurean.

Strongly secular readers can catch the element of satire in Stevens' "Doctor of Geneva" but seldom guess that, though Stevens' Doctor may be distraught by an "unburgherly apocalypse," Stevens himself may be concerned with an apocalypse less "unburgherly." Or they may enjoy the surface wit of "The Old Lutheran Bells at Home" but miss the "central" implications set by the opening allusions to Paul and to "halo-John." They then come puzzled or uncertain to such late Stevens' passages as:

The chapel underneath St. Armorer's walls
Stands in a light, its natural light and day,
The origin and keep of its health and his own,
And there he walks and does as he lives and likes.¹⁸

IV. HARMONIUM COMPLETE

Stevens' editor tells us that the *Collected Poems* was titled, in Stevens' private intention, "The Whole of Harmonium." Stevens saw all his composing as the structuring of a single work. And since he conceived this work under the title he had first chosen in the 1920's, *Harmonium*, we may assume that the term "harmonium" carries also a pertinent clue to a context for his poems.

Stevens is, of course, patently concerned to "harmonize," to discover and articulate a reality which "fits together." But though both to *harmonize* and *harmony* are roots in *harmonium*, his sustained choice of *harmonium* clearly includes further description and clue. The *harmonium* as a musical instrument giving ordered sounds from the vibration of wind through reeds at the pressure of fingers is, with happy pertinence, an analogy for the voice and hand of a poet. But there are other musical instruments also given

¹⁸ "St. Armorer's Church from the Outside."

voice from wind through reeds and fingerstops. Among such instruments, however, the harmonium is specially associated with hymn singing at home and in small Christian chapels. It is historically a Christian devotional instrument associated with worship in small groups—so to speak, where “two or three are gathered together.”

Stevens' characters are often in dialogue, taking parts but “harmonizing.” His monologues most often imply only a small group of listeners. The search for harmony by the searcher in “*Esthétique du Mal*” is to find and have found “the reverberating psalm, the right chorale.” And having remarked in “*Final Soliloquy of the Interior Paramour*” “How high that highest candle lights the dark,” Stevens continues and concludes:

Out of this same light, out of the central mind,
We make a dwelling in the evening air
In which being there together is enough.

That Stevens' completed “harmonium” has a Christian context measures him no less or more a poet than the Ecclesiast with a pre-Christian context or, with a non-Christian context, a Hitomaro or Tu Fu. For our query it is also irrelevant whether, in formal terms, Stevens was a formally affiliated “Christian.” But in the general process of ideas and attitudes what can be relevant for listeners and readers generally, not excluding seminarians and theologians, is that a versatile and eloquent new “harmonium” has come to hand. Along with all listeners to poets those who ask questions about the continued vitality of a Christian heritage have in Stevens much still to discover in, as Stevens says, “The way a look or a touch of the hand reveals its unexpected magnitudes.”¹⁹

¹⁹ “Prologues to What Is Possible.”

Concerning Questionnaires

MORTON S. ENSLIN

THE other night I had a dream. I was sitting at my desk reading with keen interest a book which had come for review. That should have been enough to prove it was only a dream. The doorbell rang. My wife came in with mail. Regretfully laying aside the book, I sized the envelopes up. The one that caught my attention was a long, slim one. In the upper left-hand corner was printed: "In case of inability to deliver, do not bother to return to John Jones, 14 Green St., New York, N. Y." In the lower left-hand corner stood the word "unimportant" in modest print. Relentlessly pushing aside the large pile of letters which screamed at me *immediate, important, urgent, personal*, I slit the envelope. Inside were a letter, a document which looked like a questionnaire, a return envelope stamped and addressed, and a check for five dollars made out to cash.

The letter reads as follows:

Dear Sir:

November 1, 1960

You will observe that I have not called you Dear Brother. My only excuse is that I do not have the pleasure of your acquaintance and do not care to be guilty of an impertinence. For a long time it has been my hobby to poke into other people's business. My father, now unfortunately dead these many years, used to tell me when I was a small boy: "Pay as you go, or don't go." The advice seemed good to me, and I have followed it. Accordingly, since I want to use some of your time, I am ready to pay for it. Enclosed you will find my check for five dollars (\$5). Should you care to answer the questions in the enclosed questionnaire, please do so at your own convenience and send it to me in the enclosed stamped envelope. If you don't care to bother with it, throw it in the wastebasket. It isn't important anyhow. In any case keep the five dollars for your trouble. Don't bother to sign your name to the answers or indicate your profession (if any), for I haven't the slightest intention of tabulating the results. I am an inmate of a private insane hospital, and while I am daily told that I am just the man to frame and tabulate questionnaires which will be invaluable for sermons and lectures, as well as term papers, I am not insane enough to believe it.

As you will see if you trouble to read the questions, they are of no earthly importance. I don't remember most of them myself. The only one I am really proud of is the 8th: "Were you ever—and if so, how often—tempted to commit murder?"

MORTON SCOTT ENSLIN, editor of the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, currently on the theological faculty at St. Lawrence University, author of several definitive New Testament studies, gets a few things said here that will reflect a quite universal problem faced by scholars and writers.

If you answer that one, please disregard those occasions when you were asked to lay aside your work to answer questionnaires. Inclusion of such data would be irrelevant and misleading.

I have left no space between questions for comments, because my doctors assure me that reading profanity or abusive speech would tend to excite me. You will further observe that all the questions asked—with the exception of Question 8—are about subjects of which you know nothing and (presumably) care less. Your answers, accordingly, will be of independent value to me. I purposely have made up my mailing list with this end in view. I have other questionnaires and other mailing lists.

I have not had a group of prominent clergymen, educators, or politicians append their signatures to this letter, for I do not imagine you are interested in the study of handwriting. Confidentially, I can tell you that there are a large number who have signified a willingness to let me do this, provided I would not require them to read the questionnaire or answer it; but I have told them it seemed a bit silly to me.

Yours truly,
John Jones

P.S. I shall mail you the same questionnaire after a lapse of three years. Perhaps in the interim I shall have become violently insane, as my doctors tell me is highly probable. In that case I shall probably classify the answers and publish them in book form. If that occurs, you will have the opportunity of subscribing (at reduced rates) for as many copies as you wish of a book which should make some Book of the Month Club.

J. J.

Slightly dazed, I opened the questionnaire and started to read the questions. They were startlingly few. They read:

1. Do you believe that we should go on record as refusing to sanction or support any future wearing of trousers by the women of China, as a protest against indecency and the possibility that this habit might lead them to become soldiers?
2. Are you in favor of the uncontrolled license between dogs of both sexes upon our public streets?
3. Do you consider the beards worn by Greek monks and Cuban revolutionists in keeping with the biblical ideal of cleanliness as next to godliness?
4. Do you favor allowing children to read the Iliad and the Odyssey of Homer in view of the glorification of war in the former and the brazen immorality of the hero in the latter? Must this not inevitably lead to a fixation which will cause the childish readers to strangle their baby brothers (or sisters) and grandmothers?
5. Could you conscientiously serve as a full-time professor in a university which allowed the teaching of Greek?
6. Do you regard the distinction between "pets" and "watchdogs" as sufficiently valid to justify your sanctioning or participating in such a practice as owning a Pekingese?
7. Do you not consider indulgence in sauerkraut and pretzels direct support of things German and therefore indirectly sanctioning the atrocities of the (still dormant) Nazi party and directly encouraging it to attempt again to obtain control?

There was no Question 8. As I started to endorse the check I woke up.

Book Reviews and Notices

War and the Christian Conscience: How Shall Modern War Be Conducted Justly? By PAUL RAMSEY. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1961. 331 pp. \$6.00.

One of the best of the contemporary American theological ethicists has turned his involuting and convoluting intellect to the major moral issues of our time. The net effect is a difficult but stimulating book with a double-sided importance. Professor Ramsey spades around the problems of modern warfare from a distinctively ethical point of view, and thus the reader who might be disposed to nuclear pacifism or to raw political realism on these matters has to meet an argument for just and rational conduct of warfare. But in the process of making his judgments on warfare, Ramsey discloses his evolving way of dealing with ethical problems—a careful appropriation of the traditions of natural law interpreted as ethics of “right” conduct rather than ethics of the value of consequences. Thus the double importance: an essay on warfare and an essay on basic issues in theological ethics.

First, on warfare. Ramsey aligns himself with St. Augustine, and thus derives his theological foundation for just war primarily from *caritas* rather than from classical views of natural law. The content of the just war tradition that is dominant in Ramsey’s argument is “noncombatant immunity.” Thus his evaluations of the revisions or perversions of the Augustinian position hinge largely on the preservation of this immunity. In the exposition of the tradition he gives us chapters that virtually stand as independent essays on St. Thomas and on contemporary Roman Catholic ethics. Ramsey gives us the kind of exceedingly refined exposition and critique that have characterized other essays he has contributed on other topics.

In several chapters he turns his scalpel to the body of Protestant thought about just war—in the ecumenical documents, in discussions of the right of revolution, and in the work of contemporary Protestant writers. Apart from demonstrating glaring confusions, particularly in some ecumenical documents, Ramsey keeps probing the substance of his argument—morally justified warfare within the bounds of “faith active in in-principled love.” Ramsey uses an exposition of a Catholic argument on abortion in cases of ectopic and other complicated pregnancies as the model for his refinement of his conclusions to the question: “Cannot the use of unlimited means of war sometimes be justified?” The conclusion is that “the work of love will be to return ever again to the prohibition of the direct killing of any person not directly or closely co-operating in the force that should be repelled,” thus hinging much of the argument on the distinction common to Catholics between “direct” and “indirect” killing, between “intentional” and “unintentional” effects.

The argument is expanded and expounded in relation to other contemporary material, for examples, the much-discussed book by Herman Kahn, *On Thermonuclear War*, Oskar Morgenstern’s *Question of National Defense*, and similar literature. Throughout Ramsey demonstrates the care with which he has read his opposition, and the ways in which he can rework his convictions in relation to their judgments. The net effect is a sound Christian judgment against nuclear pacifism on the one hand and raw political realism on the other, with a positive assent to views of limited warfare executed for ends reasonably derived and conducted according to the “rightness” that exists in the just war tradition.

Conclusions similar to Ramsey's can be reached on other ethical grounds. Thus, second, his debate with other ethicists. Ramsey speaks for "faith active in in-principled love." He seems to fear the normlessness that he believes to be inherent in much of contemporary Protestant thought more than legalism. Thus he openly criticizes the simple "faith-facts" of Sittler, and makes other allusions that seem to fall best on Paul Lehmann. His own option is "in-principled love," and thus "contextualists" and "situationalists" are the objects of his loving intellectual wrath. But his alternative is not natural reason operating from naturally known principles—or so it appears most of the time. He stresses with Edward Long (in a book rightly brought back to light by Ramsey) that principles are the servants of love, that calculation is a "service" and not a "reliance." "These rules are opened for review and radical revision in the instant *agape* controls."

The importance of this book in theological ethics requires more space. One can only wonder about some questions. Does Christian ethics say so little of its grounding in faith? Does it exercise most of its energy on the involuting and convoluting of principles? Does it pull *agape* in at the end of the argument from principles for a revision of their rigidity? Or does it start there? Can ethics of "right conduct" be as separated from "ethics of consequences" as Ramsey appears to assume through much of the argument?

Needless to say, the book is a provocative discourse and requires careful attention for all who would defend a different way of work in theological ethics, or a different Christian judgment on the problems of war. Any serious student of either issue must spend time with this book—even in Ramsey's style (for the worst, see p. 185, lines 11-14)!

JAMES GUSTAFSON

Associate Professor of Social Ethics, Yale Divinity School.

Christian Attitudes Toward War and Peace: A Historical Survey and Critical Re-evaluation. By ROLAND H. BAINTON. New York and Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1960. 299 pp. \$4.75.

Although known principally as a great historian of the Protestant Reformation, Roland Bainton of Yale displays his mastery also of that broad field with which the name of Ernst Troeltsch most readily is associated. One infers from some of Bainton's recent titles, such as *The Travail of Religious Liberty* (1951) and *What Christianity Says About Sex, Love, and Marriage* (1957), that he is writing the history of Christian social teachings in topical sections. The present volume surveys critically the historic dispositions of Christians toward war and peace. That the author's interest is far more than purely academic is manifest in the personal advocacy which he adds to the scholarly inquiry.

As a historical study of Christian responses to a particular ethical problem, this book tends to reinforce certain claims of Christian ethical theory. First, the Scriptures can be used only inferentially in developing a Christian social ethic. Bainton's survey uncovers three principal types of Christian attitudes toward war—pacifism, the just war, and the crusade—each of which arose in a particular period of the church's history.

Although he demonstrates that the first of these was the stance of the Early Church until Constantine, and although he argues persuasively that this attitude was based primarily on the desire to express the mind of Christ rather than on quietism induced by eschatological expectation, and although he personally embraces pacifism,

Bainton nevertheless refrains from doctrinaire claims for the exclusive scriptural authority of pacifism. The New Testament, he notes, has little to say on the subject of war, and in any case offers "principles rather than precepts." The Sermon on the Mount, which appears outwardly to provide so much support for pacifism, does not really confront the problem of protection. Moreover, the proponents of each of the three attitudes draw on New Testament texts to support their respective positions.

Second, a Christian ethic which seeks positively to express the love of God for the world must provide for rapprochement with non-Christians. Whereas the just war theory provides a limited justification for war and pacifism provides none, both views insist that their principal aim is peace—presuming, of course, that the type of pacifism under reference is in fact dedicated to peace and not simply to withdrawal from conflict. However, the fruition of desires for peace presumes a community of moral understanding among the contestants, and without such community peace talks beget no communication and armed conflicts degenerate from struggles over political interests to the normally more brutal wars for righteousness. The problem, of course, is that the Christian cannot approach these matters as a Christian except through his theological framework, yet he cannot conclude them without finding some means of reaching outside the framework while remaining within it. The point perhaps is confirmed in the fact that the Christian attitude toward war which makes the fewest concessions to nonbiblical perspectives—the crusade—is the very one which is least Christian in practice. But for the pacifist the claim has yet another dimension. As pacifist he is suspicious of power in general and hostile to violence in particular, yet according to Bainton he cannot find peace under the conditions of this world without some concession to both. Bainton acknowledges that violence which expresses impartial and just police power is a necessary means to social order and peace, but he renounces violence employed in defense of the national interest, i.e., in war. Moreover, he urges pacifists to participate actively in politics, although perhaps as liberals rather than as pacifists. The basic concern of the pacifist, as he understands it, is not with pacifism but with peace, and he recognizes that the wise actions of nonpacifist statesmen may contribute far more significantly to the goal of peace than the actions of the pacifists themselves.

Third, ethical decision ultimately is an act of will which expresses a fundamental personal faith and not a native discernment of reason. Bainton employs the considerable power of his reason to disarm—perhaps too swiftly in some cases—the arguments for massive retaliation, the balance of terror, limited war, etc., and in the absence of viable alternatives he urges unilateral disarmament. He seems confident that this is the most rational of alternatives despite the obvious and considerable risks, but he also accepts the risks with their full implication of renunciation of concern for one's person. Yet Bainton recognizes clearly that his election of personal renunciation does not visibly resolve all the value conflicts, and that the choice fundamentally is one from faith and in faith. We should apply the same principle to the "necessity" of war. War is necessary only in the sense that under given historical conditions one may be able to maintain his ultimate preferences only by fighting for them. The affirmation of a different focus of value may instruct one to suffer the sword rather than to use it.

As we have come to expect of Professor Bainton, this is masterful and thorough scholarship which employs every means—documents, poetry, pottery, art—to disclose the attitude of a particular person, group, or historical epoch. The style is lucid

and direct, punctuated by asides which are both witty and profound. Woodcuts from the author's collection further enhance the presentation in the text.

THEODORE R. WEBER

Assistant Professor of Social Ethics, Candler School of Theology.

Ethics and the Gospel. By T. W. MANSON. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961. 110 pages. \$2.75.

The Ethic of Jesus in the Teaching of the Church. By JOHN KNOX. New York and Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1961. 124 pp. \$2.00.

Before 1920 large numbers of books dealt with the ethical teachings of Jesus, but with the change of the theological climate around 1920 there came a lessening of concern for this aspect of our Lord's teaching. More recently however there has appeared a revived interest in this theme, not unrelated to the interest in the "New Quest of the Historical Jesus." The late Professor Manson's book begins with a convincing defense of the relationship of Jesus' ethic to the Old Testament background, especially noting that as in the Old Testament so also in Jesus the ultimate basis of ethics is God Himself revealed in both commands and promises. The Torah for the Jew was divine guidance to the right way in which a man should behave as a subject of the heavenly king. Simeon the Righteous summarized this way by saying that civilization rested upon "the Law, Worship and the imparting of kindnesses" (p. 34). Professor Manson holds that Matt. 5-7 is an elaboration of this threefold emphasis and that it goes back to Jesus himself. The ethical teachings of Jesus were severe. The Early Church took them seriously and applied them to their own community where originally many were not so directed. This implies a frank recognition that all that Jesus said was to be taken personally and seriously by the Early Church. This was exactly what the Qumran community had done with their teachings, for they built a community and sought to order their total lives by their teachings. So also the Early Church attempted to build a community of the people of God with the teachings of Jesus extensively applied to themselves. The basis of Christian ethics was not the Great Commandment, for this was merely the summary of the essence of the *Jewish Law*. The Christian ethic was not the pursuit of an ideal, but the following of Christ, which goes beyond the Law or an ideal. For the Christian today it is the ethic of the Kingdom where Christ is reigning as vice-regent of God, and where he is giving man direct aid through his spirit as man seeks to follow his Lord. This results in behavior that is not imitative but new and original. It can therefore go to the heart of every ethical situation which may arise.

This volume is concerned with the historical roots of our Christian ethic in all its severity and continuing validity. Professor Knox, on the other hand, is dealing with another aspect of the problem: the absoluteness and obvious impossibility of the ethic of Jesus as a practical program for life today. He faces frankly the fact that the ethical demands of Jesus are beyond man's grasp. This leads to the tendency to find ways of escaping the obvious meaning of the words of Jesus. He faces the various ways of escape with this conclusion: "the primitive Christians understood Jesus to have meant what he said. And so must we" (page 50). This is Manson's position also. Knox further recognizes the absoluteness of God's will according to Jesus' teaching, but also the impossibility of man's doing it. Then he affirms man's responsibility for doing what he can even though this is far below God's demands.

His solution to this problem is to be found in the Gospel of Grace and the life of the Spirit. The Gospel of Grace demands repentance and a serious acceptance of God's high and holy will. Man's genuine struggle to live aright is related to repentance. Forgiveness is God's act of acceptance of man in spite of his failure. But Knox finds the solution to the problem of ethics in the life of the Spirit, where God does not leave man alone in the struggle for righteousness but, as Paul discovered, aids him in this struggle. The Spirit of God or the indwelling Christ is his strength, not apart from his effort but within his effort.

These two books complement each other in an interesting way, yet each is a distinctive contribution to the theme of the ethic of Jesus and its meaning for the Christian today.

J. R. BRANTON

Professor of New Testament Interpretation, Colgate-Rochester Divinity School.

Images of the Church in the New Testament. By PAUL S. MINEAR. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960. 294 pp. \$6.00.

Stimulated by ecumenical discussions on Christ and the Church sponsored by the Faith and Order Department of the WCC comes this comprehensive study of some ninety-six images expressive of the church's self-recognition, compiled by the well-known Yale professor who is now on special loan to the Department. The avowed intention is to make a contribution to these continuing conversations and to extend the range of participation. To that end the study offers us a careful investigation of four "master images" and their interrelationships: the people of God, the new creation, the fellowship in faith, and the body of Christ. In addition, a preliminary chapter deals with such less dominant analogies out of common life as salt, fish net, boat, wedding feast, and garden (planting). A concluding postscript suggests the corrective influence these biblical understandings of the church might exert upon contemporary discussions about the essential "marks" of the church and the nature of its specialized ministries.

Our expectations that these picture interpretations ought to be shaped by the discipline of most recent historical and theological scholarship are amply satisfied. As a biblical theologian, Minear is concerned to let these early witnesses testify to their own convictions about this new society gathered around Jesus Christ. The result is an astonishingly rich collection of word-pictures, conclusively demonstrating that these early Christians suffered from no pedestrian imaginations nor from the tyranny of any single imagistic expression (e.g., the body of Christ). From the vantage point of a redemptive history approach, we are reminded of the mutually exclusive character of the two creations, the two kingdoms, the two ages, the two sonships, and the two humanities which determine history since the Christ event but which are destined in the end to give way to one society incorporating both the church and the world.

It must be confessed that the book assumes something of the character of an ecclesiastical lexicon with certain tedious repetitions which are not relieved by the author's prolix style. The decision to restrict attention solely to the New Testament diminishes the distinctive coloration of certain images which might have been thrown into bolder relief against their use in other circles such as the Qumran community or in Hellenistic gnostic thought. This reviewer would have welcomed a stronger insistence that New Testament thought about the church is rooted and

grounded in Christology, and this not of the speculative sort but determinative of the intensely existential life of the community which knew itself to be the instrument of his continuing mission in the world (but see pp. 254 and 262). But nowhere else can the reader find the portrait of the early church's self-understanding done with a richer palette of color.

ERNEST W. SAUNDERS

Professor of New Testament Interpretation, Garrett Biblical Institute.

The Church and the Age of Reason—1648-1789: Vol. IV, The Pelican History of the Church. By GERALD R. CRAGG. New York: Atheneum, 1961. 300 pp. \$4.50. Penguin edition, \$1.25.

Anyone who has read Dr. Cragg's previous books will know what to expect. This is a clear and concise account of the Church from 1648 to 1789, in readable English by a first-rate historian of the period.

Dr. Cragg covers the main movements of the Church from the Restoration in England to the outbreak of the French Revolution, and is to be commended for attempting a comprehensiveness that is rarely attempted in church histories of such modest proportions; his account is notable for the inclusion of such chapters as "Russia and the Eastern Churches" and "Christianity and Culture in the Baroque Age." It also deals not only with Protestantism but also with the main events in the history of the Roman Catholic Church. For its size it probably represents the best survey of its kind, written with balance and refreshing appreciation for a period that often receives scant justice from historians.

The history of the Church from the middle years of the seventeenth century through the eighteenth century is unlike all previous periods of church history, because European statesmen and rulers broke loose from the Church's tutelage and enforced a complete divorce between the political aims of nations and the ecclesiastical aims of churchmen. As Dr. Cragg demonstrates, this was a new phenomenon, and it necessarily means that the church history of the period becomes largely a history of Christian thought. This fact, together with the compression that is to be expected in a book of the size offered in the Pelican series, also determines the limitations of Dr. Cragg's book.

Of course, it will always be a matter of individual selection on the part of the author what he includes in "Christian thought." Anybody can find what appear to be unjustifiable omissions, and a reviewer can mention those that occurred to him only with due humility. For example, although I am sure the author is right to include some account of architecture, sculpture, and music, I wondered why painting is hardly mentioned (the Dutch Interiors are surely a perfect example of the prevailing spirit of the age), and I was surprised at the almost total eclipse of literature. The mood which passed from Milton's epic poetry (Milton is not mentioned) to the Augustan age and to appreciation of the English essay surely has some significance in the life of the Church. What about the influence of the King James Version of the Bible during this period, or what was the piety of the ordinary Christian—the sort of thing that Trevelyan deals with in his *English Social History* (which might, incidentally, be a good addition to the Bibliography)? More surprising still is the very brief mention of the American Revolutionary War, although it had a very profound effect not only upon the Church in the former colonies but also in retarding the enfranchisement of English Nonconformity.

Sometimes the compression of the book means that names or terms are introduced

without explanation, and the person who is not conversant with the history of the period may be left wondering why (for example) the Prince of Orange was invited to the throne of England in 1688 (p. 59), who *was* John Durie (*et al*, p. 100), who *were* the hirsute boyars (p. 111), and *what* were the special arrangements of Venice with the Inquisition (p. 225). There are other places where explanation is needed, but perhaps the most obvious example is the mention of the two Jacobite churches; the Jacobites of Eastern Orthodoxy must be distinguished for the sake of the reader from the Jacobites in Britain (cf. pp. 107, 118, 138).

Dr. Cragg rightly stresses the history of the Church during this period as primarily the history of Christian thought, but that does not mean that the history of the Church was entirely unaffected by the course of political events. The story of the Church in Britain under the later Stuarts was affected to a very large degree by the course of Louis XIV's ambitions in the Low Countries, and even the Evangelical Revival has to be seen to some extent in terms of the changing political and economic face of Europe. However much statesmen regard themselves as emancipated from ecclesiastical considerations, the Church still existed *in* the world, and was therefore to some extent conditioned by the total world in which it existed. The eighteenth century underlines that fact. This seems to suggest that Dr. Cragg's book would have been even better with an introductory chapter on the political history of the period, for this was the historical framework in which the Church's thinking took place.

Perhaps these are counsels of perfection, and it is only because Dr. Cragg's book is so good that it is worth while making them. It is an excellent piece of work that covers an immense field in a comparatively short compass, and in a very readable style. The addition of a few explanatory footnotes and an introductory chapter on the political history of the period would not necessarily have made it a much better book, but they would have enhanced its effectiveness and usefulness immeasurably.

ROBERT S. PAUL

Waldo Professor of Church History, Hartford Theological Seminary.

Religious Knowledge. By PAUL F. SCHMIDT. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961. 147 pp. \$4.00.

An Oberlin professor offers a concise, generally clear, and provocative example of logical analysis applied to religious knowledge. He maintains, with convincing vigor, that religion cannot provide either formal knowledge or factual knowledge—or even ethical “truth.” He dismisses as unverifiable all religious statements which are “cosmological, historical, theological, ethical, devotional.” This leaves one single definition: “A man's faith will be his belief in and commitment to a set of attitudes” (p. 112).

Some readers may consent to most of Schmidt's conclusions and still take exception to his mode of analysis. He acknowledges that those who possess “a traditional belief in some religion will think our results skeptical and narrow” (p. 138) and “those with an agnostic, atheistic, or materialistic outlook will think our results are far too compromising” (p. 139). In conceding the validity of “attitudinal” religion, he insists that “belief-in” must be connected with “rational beliefs-that”—most of which he has already demolished.

Furthermore, he shows little real knowledge (by “description” or “acquaintance”) of contemporary religious thought: e.g., “recent theology, knowing the difficulties that arise from making truth claims, have [sic] carefully given up

the attempt" (p. 41). Since his introductory "Look at Religions" consists solely of "a heterogeneous group of statements" extracted rather arbitrarily from sacred writings, it is well that he makes no further effort to apply his analysis, as the jacket claims, to Christianity, Judaism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, and Mohammedanism, *per se*. In short, this revised standard version of Logical Positivism is as little at home in this realm as are the concepts of religion in the courts of linguistic analysis and scientific philosophy.

CREIGHTON LACY

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Anselm: Fides Quaerens Intellectum: Anselm's Proof of the Existence of God in the Context of His Theological Scheme. By KARL BARTH. Translated by Ian W. Robertson. Richmond: John Knox Press, 1961. 173 pp. \$3.00.

Now at last we have available an indispensable piece in the mosaic of Barth's theological work. This study of Anselm first appeared in German in 1931. Immediately after its appearance Barth turned to the task which has engaged him ever since, his *Church Dogmatics*. The book on Anselm marks a decisive moment of development, transition and clarification of intention in Barth's own thought. In it he strikes some of the characteristic notes which sound throughout the *Church Dogmatics*. As Barth puts it in his Preface to the 1958 German edition: "Most [commentators] have completely failed to see that in this book on Anselm I am working with a vital key, if not the key, to an understanding of the whole process of thought that has impressed me more and more in my *Church Dogmatics* as the only one proper to theology." If this book had appeared in English not in 1961 but in the early 1930's the British and American assessment of Barth's positive theological intention might have been far more accurate. The work even now claims the attention of those who wish to engage in the beautiful if rigorous science of theology.

This book demonstrates that an exciting way to learn about one master in theology is to see him presented by another master. The eleventh-century Anselm was in many ways the first modern theologian, building upon the biblical and patristic tradition, but seeking to penetrate and express it anew, exhibiting its illuminating power for the whole of reality. And it is as a modern theologian that Barth treats Anselm. Training his attention primarily on the first four chapters of Anselm's *Proslogion* (the chapters containing the so-called ontological argument for the existence of God), Barth examines St. Anselm's theological schema: the necessity for theology, the possibility of theology, the conditions of theology, the manner of theology and the aim of theology.

Thus this is not merely a historical exposition (some may say it is too little that!) but an attempt to probe out the very nature of Christian theology itself. Some of the conclusions are these. First, God is the Lord who stands over against his creatures as "something beyond which nothing greater can be conceived." It is this Lord who is the Truth, and he will declare himself to his creatures as the free Lord. The only appropriate stance in the face of this sovereign Truth is humble suppliance. But, second, this does not reduce the theological enterprise to stammering inarticulateness. Nor is it necessary (as the Barth of the *Romans* suggested) to speak of this Lord only with a dialectical Yes and No. For in making himself known to man, God appropriates and establishes our human language as an analogically fit instrument for discourse about him.

Third, one indispensable task of theology is *fides quaerens intellectum*, i.e., examining and establishing the inner structure and coherence of the items of Christian

belief. This is *intelligere*. Finally, this *intelligere* cannot be radically separated from *probare*, the "proving" of the Christian truth in Anselm's sense. Or perhaps it is better to say: when a Christian theologian undertakes the "proving" of the Christian truth in the face of unbelief he does not turn to an entirely different task. He rather engages in that attempt at understanding carried on by the Christian man who is bidden to take his own belief more seriously than his unbelief. Thus Anselm (and Barth) protest against building doubt systematically into theological methodology. If (or is it not rather since?) God is really the Lord of truth the Christian tradition proclaims him to be, theology can only behave appropriately. There is much food for thought here for those who do theological work in any modern university.

Two important criticisms may be brought against this study. As Etienne Gilson has pointed out, theology and philosophy were by no means as sharply differentiated in Anselm's time as even in Thomas's, to say nothing of our own. Barth may be engaging in some post-Kantian anachronisms in speaking so strictly and exclusively of Anselm's theological scheme. What is more, Barth's reading of the famous "something beyond which nothing greater can be conceived" as a revealed name of God is open to question as an interpretation of Anselm. In Anselm's judgment, his philosophical explication of the divine name brought him authentic understanding, a genuine increment of knowledge.

By far the most important review of this book was published by the Catholic scholar Etienne Gilson in 1934: "Sens et Nature de l'Argument de Saint Anselme," *Archives d'Histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age*, pp. 5-51. Now that Barth's book is in English it would be splendid to have a translation of Gilson's article as well. And perhaps it could be issued by a Protestant publishing house as a contribution to the Catholic-Protestant dialogue.

WENDELL S. DIETRICH

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The English Mystical Tradition. By DAVID KNOWLES. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961. 197 pp. \$3.75.

The Mediaeval Mystics of England. Edited and with an introduction by ERIC COLLEDGE. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961. 309 pp. \$4.95.

Since the turn of our century there has been a slow but certain increase of interest in Christian mysticism and the accompanying emphasis on the personal nature of religion which this implies. The brightest flowering of this type of religious contemplation developed in England and Western Europe in the fourteenth century. These two books published almost simultaneously bear witness to the growing general concern about the nature and value of the religious experiences of geniuses like Richard Rolle, Walter Hilton, and the author of *The Cloud of Unknowing*. Although they cover almost identically the same materials the two books differ markedly in nature and value. The first is analytical and descriptive and will long be the classical handbook for those who desire to understand this movement in England; the second, lacking this perceptive analysis, will be useful largely because of the generous quotations from these religious classics to which two thirds of the volume have been given.

David Knowles, Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge University, published his *The English Mystics* as early as 1928 and through the years has come to be recognized as having few peers in the interpretation of the details of English

religious life. His first chapter, encumbered a bit by his desire to preserve official Roman Catholic theological vocabulary, is a description rather than a definition of mysticism. There is no single, brief, and inclusive statement, but the reader feels that Knowles is trying to say that the mystic's experience is something more real and adequate than all his previous knowledge and love of God, filling the powers of his mind and soul. Such experience is beyond the reasoning of the mind and is incommunicable in its purest form.

In his second chapter Knowles traces the evolution of Catholic mystical theology. He finds the first appearance of the contemplative way as a goal of life in Plotinus, yet he attributes the title "father of Christian mysticism" to Gregory of Nyssa in whose writings he sees clearly enunciated the fully supernatural experience of union with God. Concluding this compact and brilliant historical analysis the author asserts, though somewhat unconvincingly, that the fourteenth-century English mystics combine all the elements of the Augustinian-Victorine, half-intellectual, half-devotional, grace-enlightened contemplation with the more transient ecstatic experience and with the Dominican infusion of love and knowledge. They were great, indeed, but the synthesis is too pat. His zeal leads Knowles to say on his last page that these mystics were unequaled by any other single regional or national group in the later medieval world, although he admitted earlier (p. 54) that at least some of them had not achieved the heights attained by Tauler and Suso.

The third chapter paints a vivid picture of the fourteenth century in England, which is so often underestimated in contrast to the brilliant thirteenth. Here he also gives a fine analysis of the influence of the mystical literature on the developing English language. From his stance one can understand why he fails to give Wycliffe his full share of the glory of these times.

The remainder and major portion of the volume is devoted to a careful analysis of the experiences and doctrines of Richard Rolle, the author of *The Cloud of Unknowing*, Walter Hilton, Julian of Norwich, Margery Kempe, and, as something of a synthesis of all these, the early seventeenth-century Father Augustine Baker. These chapters are incomparably well done and will long remain the definitive interpretations of these geniuses. While it is quite clear that one must not take lightly the gifts and efforts needed to achieve the contemplative and illuminative experience of religion and must not confuse it with the more normal "prayer of simplicity" or the achievement of "loving attention" to our Lord, one must confess that to limit the appreciation and value of these great mystics to a mere intellectual understanding is to miss their real contribution. Despite the author's disagreement, it seems plausible that the effort to understand the nature of these religious experiences and to appreciate their values might, and perhaps should, lead to an approach to, if not an approximation of, the same.

Eric Colledge, who is Senior Lecturer in English Literature at Liverpool University, has worked with almost identically the same material but has treated it very differently. His superb bibliography of 108 works, most of which are original English mystical writings, forms the background for his comprehensive introduction to the subject of his book. Much of this first third of the volume is exceedingly involved in thought and style; the subject is difficult enough so that one should not add further literary complexity. The second sentence in the book covers seventeen lines, and there are others nearby of fifteen and sixteen lines. Many colons should be periods:

Happily enough his style of translation, and all of the excerpts in the book

are his translations, is superb and not at all encumbered. Colledge is more modest in his claims for the English mystics, freely admitting not only similarities, as does Knowles, but also considerable dependence, as in the case of Richard Rolle who was greatly influenced by Richard of St. Victor. Rolle's limitation is admitted in that he stopped short of the burning intensity in *The Four Degrees of Burning Love*. The author devotes more space to Walter Hilton and the excerpts from his *The Scale of Perfection* than to any other and is also clearer in his interpretations of this mystic than in any other portion of the book.

Even to improve a reading a translator is hardly justified in so radical a procedure as to change "when you have truly believed" to read "when you have lived faithfully" (p. 146). The author might have discovered that an early meaning of "believe" was "to hold dear, valuable or satisfactory" and in this way improved and clarified his translation. The first part of this book is hardly for novices but the major portion of it, including the superb translations of seven major mystical works, may well be used to supplement the Knowles volume.

RAYMOND W. ALBRIGHT

Professor of Church History, The Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge.

Structures of Prejudice. By CARLYLE MARNEY. New York and Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1961. 256 pp. \$4.50.

Most analyses of prejudices treat the phenomenon in particular contexts. One reads about racial, religious, national, or class prejudice. This book is an analysis of prejudice in culture. Dr. Marney shows that prejudice largely governs our lives, having its source in and being expressed through those very institutions and structures which we consider most valuable. In fact, this is the center of the trouble. We overvalue our structures and exclude as unreal, untrue, and valueless those realities which are not congealed in them.

The author asserts that prejudice is expressed by means of false categorization. It is the result of drawing categories falsely and too narrowly. Man enslaves himself, in the search for security, by building walls around that which he values. He does this in relation to every major concern of the human spirit. The result is, the author finds man immersed in materialism, provincialism, institutionalism, and individualism. "The first is a metaphysical error, a perversion of reality; the second is an epistemological error, a false limitation of knowledge; the next is the ethical error implicit in our satisfaction with lesser values; and the last is theological madness, the denial of personality." Each of these is a structure of prejudice because it involves a prejudgment, a reductionism, and operates as a faith.

This book is divided into four parts. Each part may be read in separation from the others, since the author provides a thorough analysis of each structure of prejudice in terms of sources, expressions, limitations, and release by the power of a Christian understanding and approach to the problem.

Materialism, the author affirms, has shaped the mentality of the modern world. It finds expression as frontierism, industrialism, scientism, and religious materialism. But as prejudgment of reality, it is limited. It knows beauty only as "colossality," and it ought to deny value situations altogether. But it cannot do this as a faith. Consequently, it issues ethically and religiously in negative naturalism, positive humanism, and optimistic secularism. The Christian response to materialism must be in terms of incarnational realism, for total event includes observer-in-event-in-relation.

Provincialism is the prejudgment of community. Among its expressions are racism; communism; capitalism; and Western absorption in its own ideas, standards, techniques, and tools. Education can release us from provincialism if it finds genuine freedom, overcomes departmentalization, and is redemptive in character.

Institutionalism is the prejudgment of value. Its major forms are racism, nationalism, and religious institutionalism. "The resolution of institutionalism is always by the sublimating power of a higher sense of value."

Individualism has its roots in solipsism, which is the root of prejudice. Individualism lacks capacity for community, distorts reality, perverts value, and misuses power. Personality is found only in relation—a relation which involves encounter and understanding. Vocation is the means to personhood.

Central to Dr. Marney's theme is the idea of the connectedness of things—"seeing things whole." The author carried out this idea in gathering material for this book, for he has called upon all the major divisions of knowledge. This asset probably includes the liability of this volume, since the ponderousness of some references demands further elaboration.

GEORGE D. KELSEY

Professor of Christian Ethics, Drew University.

A Theology of Proclamation. By DIETRICH RITSCHL. Richmond: John Knox Press, 1960. 190 pp. \$3.50.

The theology here set forth is the resurgent biblical theology of the Word of God. Starting with Barth's three forms of the one Word—as proclaimed, as written, and as revealed by divine action in the hearing of faith—Professor Ritschl has undertaken to carry through this doctrine: that God speaks and acts for himself in the proclamation of the biblical Word, that the real preacher is Christ and the human speaker only an instrument. He does not attempt to say how such preaching is done, except that the text of Scripture must be allowed to say "what it wants to say."

The book's chief value is its insistence that this theology, taken seriously, calls for a radical change in the whole concept of preaching, worship, and the life of the church. Humanistic theory is not merely inadequate, it is prohibitory. We must rely on the Word and on him whose word it is, not on rhetoric, psychology, or human techniques of communication.

Dr. Ritschl makes this point emphatically and at length. Every serious student of preaching must face the issues he raises. Unfortunately, his implications concerning the preacher's work are not clear and consistent. Before the argument is over, he rightly says that prayer also is God's action, that the liturgy and sacraments and the read lesson are also proclamation. Hence it is inconsistent to equate proclamation with "the sermon" and set it over against these other forms of the Word to their discredit.

There is a like uncertainty about method and principles of preaching. Wrong method is not cured by disdaining method. Misuse of rhetoric is not avoided by contemptuous words about rhetoric. Dr. Ritschl's own rhetoric is that of the contemporary theological school, dialectical, antithetical, prone to absolute statements for effect. It does not make his book more valuable, and one could wish he were more concerned about the use of language. For this is a valuable book. It has much to say that surely needs to be heard.

H. GRADY DAVIS

Professor of Functional Theology, Chicago Lutheran Seminary.

The Context of Decision. By GORDON D. KAUFMAN. New York and Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1961. 126 pp. \$2.50.

The substance of this brief analysis of the theological foundations of Christian ethics was originally presented as the Menno Simons Lectures at Bethel College (Kansas) in 1959. In *The Context of Decision* Dr. Gordon D. Kaufman, associate professor of theology at the Vanderbilt Divinity School, seeks to clarify the nature and meaning of the problem of decision as this is understood from within the perspective of Christian faith.

To be fully understood, every decision must be analyzed in terms of a triad of relationships—among individual *selves*, the *communities* of which they are a part, and the *history* of these selves and communities by which their present structure is determined (Chapter III).

Kaufman follows closely H. Richard Niebuhr's analysis of Christian ethics in terms of man's threefold response to God's action as Creator, Judge, and Redeemer, although Kaufman prefers the category of Spirit to that of Judge (p. 47). "Christian ethics is the attempt to understand and interpret this continuous dialogue between God's action and our response." In relationship to his fellow men the Christian's response—whether as an individual or as a member of a group—is in terms of the neighbor's need.

Space remains to mention only two issues raised by this volume. In the laudable effort to avoid the use of the Platonic categories "visible" and "invisible" in reference to the church, Kaufman substitutes the terms "empirical" and "eschatological" (p. 64); but the use of the latter concept results at times in the confusion of the church with the kingdom of God.

The other issue is more basic and concerns the place of law and principles in Christian ethics. Kaufman is quite right in his contention that no law or rule can tell us what our duty is in a concrete moment of choice. However, it seems somewhat strange to this reviewer—in light of Kaufman's analysis of the self in terms of a "structure," his emphasis upon the historical dimension of the relationships involved in every decision, and his appreciation of "dialogue" and "paradox" (p. 95n)—that he does not give a more positive, albeit secondary and dialectical, place to rules and principles as guides in the earlier chapters of this volume. What seems to have been rejected in the first chapters is purposely provided in part in the last chapter on "The Problem of Decision." Moreover, his defense of the Mennonite witness "to the demand of love to forsake all defenses of every sort" (p. 120) constitutes a recognition of the value of a quite specific rule or principle, as does his earlier and more questionable identification of Christian love with "nonresistant love."

In summary, *The Context of Decision* is a well-written, illuminating analysis of the theological basis of Christian ethics and of the meaning of moral decisions. Although it is of necessity sketchy and selective in dealing with the major issues involved in Christian ethics, it describes in a fresh and stimulating manner the Christian perspective on ethical choices.

E. CLINTON GARDNER

Professor of Christian Ethics, Candler School of Theology.

Genesis: A Commentary. By GERHARD VON RAD. Translated by John Marks. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1961. 434 pp. \$7.50.

Gerhard von Rad of the University of Heidelberg, more than any other scholar of our generation, has elucidated the first six books of the Bible in an original, fresh,

and stimulating way. The present work is a translation of his commentary on the Book of Genesis in *Das Alte Testament Deutsch* series. Von Rad makes it clear that if we are to understand the diverse literary and cultic materials of that book we must grasp them in their context—first of all, of course, of the major literary strands (Yahwist, Elohist, and Priestly historian) and then of the Hexateuch as a complete work. Our first task, then, is to discern the major theme and theological interest of the complex of materials which comprise the basic source, the Yahwist, and these von Rad finds in the little Credo of Deuteronomy 26:5-9 (cf. Deut. 6:20-24; and Joshua 24:2-13). All the individual units must be read with the controlling purpose of the writer in clear view; otherwise we shall miss their meaning. Von Rad demonstrates in an extraordinarily creative way how the various strata of materials, originally separate, were incorporated into the complete work (e.g., the Sinai tradition, the extension of the patriarchal traditions, and the primeval history of Genesis 1-11) as well as how the vast diversity of individual literary units, most of them etiological in character and many of them cultic, were ordered and usually (though not always) refashioned in order to support the major theme of the total work. In a word, what makes this commentary so important and refreshing is that the author does justice to the nature of the composition of the individual units, as Gunkel had done before him, but also to the place and function of these units in the complete work, as Gunkel did not. What is more, he is always intent upon showing the *kind* of literary type with which he is dealing in each instance.

The commentary opens with an excellent introduction (pp. 3-42), in which the author discusses Genesis as part of the Hexateuch, the three narrative sources (J, E, P), the theological problem of the Yahwist and how he resolved it, and finally, the hermeneutical problems of the Genesis narrative, in which von Rad defends a kind of typological exegesis. On this latter point there will be those who will have their reservations if not dissents, but for their comfort it may be said that von Rad deals with the matter very cautiously. The commentary must be read slowly because the exegesis is compact. It is a book to be studied and pondered over. Such expositions as those on the Priestly narrative of the creation (Genesis 1:1-2:42), the Yahwist story of the fall (2:4b-3:24), the Elohist account of "the sacrifice of Isaac" (ch. 22), or the Joseph Novelle (chh. 37, 39-48), to name but four among many others, will prove as fascinating as they are theologically rewarding.

The publication of this commentary is an event of considerable importance. The minister or teacher who does not acquire it and use it, whether for preaching or teaching, will be the poorer for it.

JAMES MUILENBURG

Davenport Professor of Hebrew and the Cognate Languages, Union Theological Seminary, New York.

The Prophet From Nazareth. By MORTON SCOTT ENSLIN. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961. 221 pp. \$4.95.

The author, long recognized as an outstanding "liberal" NT scholar, whose critical views are fully set forth in his widely known *Christian Beginnings*, draws together in this book his reflections on the career and mission of Jesus.

The point of view is throughout close to that of liberal Judaism. It is safe to say that the book will be widely acclaimed in that circle and coolly, if not hostilely, received by many Protestant and Catholic readers.

In harmony with most contemporary NT scholars, the author believes it

impossible to write a life of Jesus in the strict sense, in view of the fragmentary and theologically colored character of our sources. But he thinks it worth while to attempt an estimate of the sort of man Jesus was—his basic concerns, the general course of his career, and the secret of his amazing influence. Neo-orthodox disinterest in the Jesus of history and preoccupation with the Christ of faith, fundamentalist literalism, and unrestrained historical skepticism are all rejected in favor of vigorous critical sifting of the sources and careful assaying of the environment in which Jesus and the Christian movement appeared. The assumptions and methodology remind one sharply of scholarship a generation ago.

Enslin's Jesus is a clear-cut, though oversimplified, figure. The ambiguities, tensions, and inconsistencies in the portraits of Jesus in the Gospels, particularly in the area of Jesus' self-consciousness, are speedily eliminated by assigning most of them to the church's advancing Christology. Only one category of self-interpretation is allowed to Jesus: that of the prophet. Jesus believed that he had come as God's herald of the end of the world and the coming of the New Age. His task was to prepare his contemporaries by repentance and right living for admission to this new supernatural order. He was not concerned with ongoing life in this world. His ethic was an interim ethic. All attempts to find in Jesus' teaching a social gospel valid for our times constitutes a serious modernizing and distortion of Jesus' intent. Enslin stands at the farthest remove from C. H. Dodd, Joachim Jeremias, and others who see an element, at least, of "realized eschatology" in the thought of Jesus.

The author sees little connection between the mind of Jesus and the church's thoughts about him. He says flatly, "The religion of Jesus was speedily transformed into the religion *about* Jesus" (p. 3). For example, he holds that when Jesus spoke of the Son of Man, as he frequently did, he meant not himself but another who would come in glory to inaugurate the Kingdom. After his death his disciples elevated him to this dignity, as they did also to the messiahship, which he had never claimed for himself.

The author is hostile to contemporary emphases on the Cross-Resurrection as the redemptive center of Christianity. He sees this center rather in the life and ministry of Jesus and the impact these made on his followers. Jesus' success in history is to be attributed to the power of his personality over men. In fact, the resurrection is to be understood not in terms of a changed Jesus but of changed disciples.

Enslin's Jesus is a first-century Jew who was concerned with first-century problems and who offered solutions applicable to first-century men. He was faithful to his sense of mission to the end, and because of the quality of his life and service he is entitled to a place among the world's great personalities, such as Socrates and his kind.

The strength of the book lies principally in the author's great knowledge of the world of the New Testament. His honesty and forthrightness, if not his conclusions, are to be commended. The style is crisp. Footnotes show the wide range of his scholarship but never burden the text. The book is guaranteed by this reviewer to stab the average Christian awake and force him to evaluate his beliefs about Jesus. Perhaps this is what the writer intended!

EDWARD P. BLAIR

Professor of New Testament Interpretation, Garrett Biblical Institute.

Worship and Theology in England From Watts and Wesley to Maurice, 1690-1850. By HORTON DAVIES. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961. 355 pp. \$7.50.

The Protestant Mind of the English Reformation. By CHARLES H. GEORGE and KATHERINE GEORGE. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961. 452 pp. \$8.50.

In a field which he has made peculiarly his own, Professor Horton Davies offers us a full and interesting study of English worship during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. He tries to make his account as comprehensive as possible, covering the various dissenting bodies as well as the Established Church and ranging over many aspects of worship from church building on the one side to the associated or underlying theology on the other. He plans that this should be the first volume of a trilogy, but it naturally forms a complete study in itself.

Of the qualities of the work it is almost superfluous to speak. It meets a need hardly satisfied by any previous book. It rests on solid research by one who has devoted many years to this field and established no mean reputation in it. It is full of interesting information attractively presented, and within the limits of the space available a better balance could hardly be achieved.

If there are defects, they are partly in matters of detail and partly in the larger but arguable field of general standpoint and perspective. In the first category we may first mention one or two slips in the excellent indexes; if it is a venal it is also an irritating fault that references should not appear as listed. More seriously, the account given of certain movements, e.g., the Anglican Evangelicals, shows rather too great dependence on secondary sources and leaves an impression of thinness not wholly excusable in terms of space restriction.

To the second category belongs the assumption of the author that he has a standard or understanding of worship by which to assess the various forms of worship presented. Now the author has a right to his own view of worship, and this view may well be right. On the other hand, we have good reason to ask that Dr. Davies should clarify his standpoint and devote himself more fully to interaction rather than assessment in his survey. It is at this deeper level where worship and theology are most closely related that an intrinsically valuable book proves most disappointing.

A rather different work, at once more detailed and more comprehensive, is offered by Charles and Katherine George in their study *The Protestant Mind of the English Reformation*. Based largely on preaching material, this book covers such varied topics as theology, views of the family, and political theory. The interesting thesis is advanced that between the Cartwright period and the Civil War there was no clearly defined line between Anglicans and Puritans, that in terms of larger groupings English Protestantism formed a recognizable entity of its own, that variations cut across the party lines, and that the traditional groups were divided only in respect of comparative trivialities. Questions naturally arise at the persistent promotion of this unusual thesis. Does the choice of 1540 as a starting point really give a balanced perspective? Can one draw general conclusions from a study which rests largely on available sermon material? Even if sustained, does the thesis tell us more than that the controversy does not loom so large in the homiletical field? Is there not an underestimation of the developing Arminian cleavage? Are not even minor points like the sign of the cross supremely important if they derive from different conceptions of authority, or of the range of biblical authority in the life and order of the Church?

Yet these queries must not blind us to the merits of this perspicacious and judicious enquiry into a little-known field. The authors have diligently covered the material and brought to light many interesting aspects of the religious life of the period concerned. If they have pursued their thesis with undue enthusiasm, they have certainly displayed a larger consensus of English Protestantism in relation to the less domestic issues, and they are right to consult the sermon materials too for a full understanding of the age. Summarizing this in a clear and challenging form, the authors have undoubtedly made a notable historical contribution.

G. W. BROMILEY

Associate Professor of Church History and Historical Theology, Fuller Theological Seminary.

Nihilism: Its Origin and Nature—With a Christian Answer. By HELMUT THIELICKE. Translated by John W. Doberstein. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961. Volume IV in *Religious Perspectives*, edited by Ruth N. Anshen. 186 pp. \$5.00.

Professor Thielicke's lectures on nihilism were delivered at the University of Tübingen just after World War II. John Doberstein has brought them to us in a very creditable translation. Even now, fifteen years later, one can understand why the bewildered and skeptical young people of that time packed the lecture halls to hear Dr. Thielicke. For his insights, given form by a well-disciplined theological mind, remain close to the language and experience of the common man.

In nihilism the world breaks down because the "self" breaks down. Both personal and world order are fragmented and apparently lost. There seems to be no purpose in or for anything. Dr. Thielicke describes the causes and symptoms of this disease and how it affects law, medicine, psychiatry, and the arts.

Yet he argues that nihilism is always "fractured" and inconsistent. There cannot be a "pure nihilism" because man bears the divine image. Even man's protest against meaninglessness bespeaks a dim awareness of meaning which is his rightful destiny. "Man cannot divest himself of his humanity . . . no matter how much he may want to do so" (p. 152).

More than this, the anxieties of nihilism play a positive role in God's purpose. Dr. Thielicke reminds us effectively of Luther's struggle against the assaults of doubt and fear. "God creates out of nothing; if you are not nothing, God can make nothing out of you" (p. 177). That is to say, the greatest barrier to redemption is self-security. "He who simply cultivates and preserves the sheltered garden of his childhood faith and the ideals of Western Christian civilization, always fending off the destructive onslaughts of doubt, can never experience the miracle of grace" (p. 176).

Many of the attitudes one encounters in politics and business and in private life reflect the emptiness of nihilism. With Dr. Thielicke's help we may become more adept at recognizing them. But far more important is his positive message: that in spite of theoretical perplexities one can find dignity and meaning in simple human acts. One does not first find meaning philosophically. On the contrary, it is found in "responsible action, in the *doing* of love, in the engagement. He who would know God and thus break through to the Absolute must first 'do the will of my Father in heaven' (Jesus Christ)" (p. 162).

The phrase "with a Christian answer" which appears in the subtitle is a bit misleading. By far the largest portion of the book is given over to analysis. The "answer" is stated only very briefly, though clearly and provocatively. Yet one

is grateful that he has provided his analysis in detail. For it will help us all to recognize the basis for those moods of hopelessness to which the modern spirit is subject and to deal more effectively with them.

FRED BERTHOLD

Dean, the Tucker Foundation, Dartmouth College.

The Theology of the Christian Mission. Edited by GERALD H. ANDERSON.
New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961. 341 pp. \$6.50.

Through the pages of this volume one can see more clearly than through any other medium where it is that the church now stands in the understanding of and commitment to its mission. One quickly senses that the subject of "missions" is no longer a compact and neatly definable area, as it was at the beginning of this century. At that time missions constituted a specific activity of the church carried on in a clearly circumscribed geographical area. Both the thinking of the church and the condition of the world have changed since then. The result is seen in an extreme broadening, not to say a diffusion, of the subject matter of missions. Now we see that the whole life of the church is directed toward mission and that the whole world is the mission field. This makes the subject much less easy to bound, but it also makes it richer and deeper, as any comparison of this volume with studies of fifty years ago will evidence.

The first of the four sections of the volume deals with the biblical basis of the mission, and in this it becomes clear how the whole of the faith is involved in any missionary thinking. The study of the biblical motivation for missions encompasses all of the major aspects of the Christian faith. The rest of the book continues this inclusive approach. Except for an article by Max Warren on Identification and one by Christian Baeta on the Separatist Churches of Africa, there is little or nothing to indicate a special concern for Asia, Africa, or Latin America. The field of concern throughout is the world as a whole, just as the motivation for concern lies in the faith as a whole. There is only one writer who makes a case for the singling out of distinctive mission countries or mission areas, and he is the Roman Catholic spokesman, Andrew V. Seumois, writing from the viewpoint of the organizational structure of Roman Catholicism.

There is likewise an impressive unanimity with regard to the paramount importance of the missionary calling of the church. Writers from historical Protestant, modern Free Church, conservative Evangelical, Roman Catholic, and Eastern Orthodox backgrounds all combine in stressing the centrality of that calling for our whole life as Christians, and all bring out those elements in their various traditions which lend strength to the missionary outlook. With the exception of Floyd Ross, of the Southern California School of Theology, there is no writer here who would ask us to restrict or seriously modify an outspoken proclamation of the gospel to the world. Yet this does not mean that we should devalue other religious beliefs. It is surprising to see in this book, a generation after the Madras Conference, the extreme position which was introduced in that Conference to counteract the popular tendency toward liberal inclusiveness being itself regarded as in need of some counteracting in a more liberal direction. Nearly all of the writers in the section on Christianity and Other Faiths are concerned to make a place for a positive Christian evaluation of the other religions of mankind and for some sort of theory of fulfillment in the relation of these other faiths to Christianity.

One misses in this volume some sense of the deep heart-searching which is

going on in the missionary life of the church today. The storms of history have overtaken the church's missionary work and are buffeting it severely. The way of effective communication with men of the contemporary world has not been found, and though there are many hopeful experiments going on, none of them can be pronounced fully successful. This volume provides much of the theological undergirding which is necessary, but there is need for a companion volume which will face the actual situation of the Christian mission today.

CHARLES W. FORMAN

Professor of Missions and Acting Dean, Yale Divinity School.

The Biblical View of Sex and Marriage. By OTTO A. PIPER. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1960. 239 pp. \$3.95.

This book is described as a "complete revision" of Dr. Piper's *The Christian Interpretation of Sex*. For this reviewer it proved to be even more than this description implies. In the twenty years since the earlier work first appeared, the author's thought has matured and expanded, and his capacity for clear, convincing communication has greatly developed. His earlier work, one of the first in the field, was challenging and original. His new book is authoritative and definitive. No serious study of the Christian view of sex and marriage could afford to ignore it.

There is nothing tentative or hesitant about Dr. Piper's conclusions. He makes his statements categorically, with the assurance born of deep conviction. He expresses, courteously but firmly, his disagreement with the highest authorities—with St. Augustine on the sexual element in the Fall; with Luther's view of marriage as an "order of Creation"; with Karl Barth's treatment of the sexual element in the man/woman relation—when he feels that they have failed adequately to interpret the message of the Bible.

From first to last Dr. Piper's aim is to expound what the Bible says. In this pursuit he does not mind if some of his statements (e.g., "As a publicly formed alliance, marriage is intended to bind the partners together even against their own will") challenge modern attitudes; or even if they (e.g., "There is no Biblical commandment establishing marriage as an institution or demanding marital faithfulness") seem to run counter to accepted religious opinion. Without fear or favor he declares the scriptural truth as, after profound study and thought, he has come to understand it.

This is a challenging book; yet not in the sense in which we often use this term. It does not often challenge by tearing down. Much more often it challenges by defending, with an unwonted vigor and skill, and with the persuasiveness of a great weight of sound scholarship, Christian concepts which in our modern world seem everywhere to be discredited or compromised. One lays the book down with a sense of having witnessed a battle royal between St. George and the dragon; and, in this reviewer's mind at least, there was no doubt as to who had won the victory.

DAVID R. MACE

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The Voices of France: A Survey of Contemporary Theology in France. By JAMES M. CONNOLLY. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1961. 231 pp. \$5.50.

This book by a young priest now engaged in graduate studies at Fordham puts this reviewer in a nostalgic mood. At about the same period in my life I discovered

French Catholic thought for myself, through a timely tip from Etienne Gilson, and it has been a joy and resource to me for forty years. I am glad to find a young Catholic thinker who relishes the spicy taste of French theology today as I relished it then, and still do.

The two opening chapters on "The Historical Tradition of French Theology" and "The Intellectual and Historical Location of Contemporary French Theology" put Connolly's subject in its setting. The first briefly describes a few continuing influences in French Catholic thought: the Gallican tradition with its preference for the Fathers over the Scholastics; the influence of Descartes, Pascal, Lamennais and Lacordaire, Newman and the "Modernists." The second shows how French theology rallied after the condemnation of Modernism in 1907, and assumed a more friendly attitude toward Thomism, but still remained "open" to modern thought such as Bergsonism and existentialism.

The third and fourth chapters, on "Theology of the Sources" and "The Themes of the Theologians," contain the main substance of the book and are worth repeated reading. The most general and persistent trend of the period has been a threefold movement "back to the Sources"—back to the Bible, back to a more authentic understanding of the meaning of the Liturgy, back to the Fathers—balanced by an equal concern (Chap. IV) to interpret classic truths to men of today. So Albert Dondeyne of Louvain has built a bridge between the seemingly abstract intellectualism of Thomas Aquinas and the passionate demand for vital *engagement* in dedicated atheists like Sartre. So Henri de Lubac has argued that the Church is the fulfillment of the humanistic quest for true community, and even maintained that man has a "natural desire for the Beatific Vision" (p. 86). So Yves Congar has become the apostle of a Catholic ecumenism which converses sympathetically with Orthodox and Protestant seekers of church unity, going so far as to propose a certain kind of "reform" of the Catholic Church in his controversial book *True and False Reform*. So Teilhard de Chardin has reconciled Christian faith and cosmic evolution in a manner that has favorably impressed Julian Huxley—if not always his more orthodox fellow Catholics. So Pere Danielou of the Institut Catholique in Paris has found in the early Fathers whom he knows so well the basis for a "theology of history" which speaks to the present age. His view of history is eschatological, as against the more monistic incarnational view of de Lubac and others. There is real tension here among the French theologians, but Connolly thinks Danielou provides a basis for reconciling the two schools of thought: "The supreme moment in the history of the world is, of course, the Incarnation, but this moment must also be perceived as the inauguration of the last days—the absolute termination of history" (p. 153).

In the last three chapters—practical "Applications," relations with "The Teaching Church," and brief "Conclusions"—Connolly recurs frequently to the question whether contemporary French theology is heretical and rebellious. That some of these thinkers have been censured by the Vatican and had books placed on the Index is true; but the Church's disciplinary action has not provoked them to rebel and leave the Church, as Lamennais did in the last century, and Loisy and other Modernists in this. Love and loyalty to the Church are the very mainspring of their being; it is out of this love and faith that they have become "totally enmeshed, utterly embroiled, completely committed to a Christian witness in a pagan society" (p. 215). This quality of *concern for the outsider* will certainly commend them to non-Catholic readers, as well as to missionary-minded Catholics like Father Connolly.

A little more careful proofreading will doubtless protect Connolly's later books from some of the trivial errors of spelling, etc., that sometimes mar this first book.

WALTER MARSHALL HORTON

Professor of Systematic Theology, Oberlin Graduate School of Theology.

Religion in Contemporary Culture. By PURNELL H. BENSON. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960. xi-839 pp. \$8.00.

This mammoth work, a "survey" volume, is a psycho-ideological study—not exactly a treatise in either anthropology or sociology. It is offered as a text for college courses in the psychology and sociology of religion, but comes closer to the former purpose. Its subtitle, "A Study of Religion Through Social Science," may be a mite too broad. For the most part it focuses on motivation, and the role therein of religion, in the shaping of culture and personality.

The book's concentration on motivation and ideology (without any mention of Mannheim, curiously) prevents any adequate treatment of religion conceptually—no "theologizing," on the one hand, and on the other "purely" noncognitive or experiential treatment of religion. Both plus and minus observations come in for attention: not only the constructive functions of religion in life but also its "dysfunctions" in the mores and personalities of society's members high and low. Part Five, "Religion and Society," will interest students most for its information; and Part Three, "Functions of Religion," especially Chapter 10 on the debate over empiricism's validity as a method of analysing religion, will probably interest sophisticated readers most.

Writers of textbooks are the heroes of modern education, the hard workers, the yeomen. They put all of the rest of us in their debt. This one was put together by a man who has fled the halls of Academe and now has his own enterprise, Consumer and Personnel Research. The cost of its construction (you *build* textbooks) was partially subsidized by a grant from the Bureau of Research and Survey of the National Council of Churches.

As a social analysis of religion—chiefly the Judeo-Christian movement in Western culture, but with some control-reference to others, especially Amerindian—it describes the views of outstanding social analysts such as Cooley, Durkheim, and Weber, and of psychologists such as Jung, Pratt, and Leuba. Critics are certain to complain because so-and-so is not cited or recognized, but this is the fate of every work that pretends to be an *omnium gatherum*. It is easy but unfair to forget that Benson's volume is not an empirical study, either, comparable for example to the recent field study of Detroit's metropolitan religious patterns by Gerhard Lenski, *The Religious Factor*.

The only serious omission, judged by the average plan in such outsized surveys, is its lack of a bibliographical essay. In view of the balance and perception shown throughout the rest of the book, a survey of the literature of its field—historically and critically—would have enhanced its value a great deal. However, a very full and painstaking index, both of names and subjects, gives the student a fairly good idea of the enormous number of contributors and their aims.

Harper has added another first-class and serious book to its list. This is one in its Social Sciences Series, edited by F. Stuart Chapin.

JOSEPH FLETCHER

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Religion and the Rise of Scepticism. By FRANKLIN L. BAUMER. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company. 308 pp. \$5.95.

This book points out that scepticism has finally and really taken hold of the human mind generally, that it is no longer simply one of a number of "schools of thought" but a pervasive, operative climate of opinion. Whereas it may have been, in former ages, a minority outlook, limited to people not generally accepted (like Pyrrho, Gorgias, Hume—and even Hume rejected Pyrrhonism), now its influence seems spread out. Yet many of those influenced by it today are unhappy about it, and evidence a searching and longing—and they are sometimes sceptical of any real success in this searching, but they are searching, longing, hoping.

Baumer, a professor of history at Yale, does three things in this interesting and competent volume: (1) he handles his material as a historian primarily; (2) he describes and analyzes what he considers to be new features of contemporary scepticism; and (3) he endeavors to specify a possible new form of religion of or for the future. This is the speculative part of the book. He calls this possibility a "Layman's Religion," a term borrowed from *De Religione Laici* (by Lord Herbert of Cherbury).

The author states that the sceptical tradition has not yet found its historian. In his attempt to meet this need he devotes four of the book's five chapters to a historical recital. And he means by "scepticism" religious rather than philosophical or scientific scepticism. Thus, Chapters 1 to 4 present historical surveys and interpretations of scepticism in the West: during the Enlightenment (Ch. 1); in the time of Boyle and Bayle (Ch. 2); nineteenth-century scepticism (Ch. 3); and the contemporary scene (Ch. 4). He reverses the chronological order in Chapters 1 and 2. His main point is that "modern man" is the heir of a great sceptical tradition which challenges another great tradition (the Judeo-Christian), but that now many of these moderns are expressing a desire to return, though not simply to old words and patterns.

In today's scepticism we detect something new, a feature not in previous scepticisms—a note of worry, of warning. Baumer cites Jung's writings concerning modern man's vast spiritual need, a need bound up with an acute sense of the meaninglessness of life (cf. p. 11). The writer who most vividly illustrates this for Baumer is Arthur Koestler, whose novel *The Age of Longing* gives our author the title for his fourth chapter, and whose character in this novel, Delattre, is the symbol *par excellence* of the modern sceptic. This new scepticism is extended to the new gods as well as the old, and especially to the new! The new gods in "the new Baal society" are thought to be even more menacing than anything in the past. And the only element of the old humanistic faith left over in Delattre's outlook is the determination to fight to preserve human dignity.

What form will the "new religion" take? Baumer in his early pages gives much thought to problems of definition for the term "religion." For him religion is something *sui generis*; it is not reducible to something else; and the "new" may not crystallize into creedal belief or into membership in a "church." He again refers to Koestler (in his *Trail of the Dinosaur*) for some specifications. It will be a religion whose content is perennial but not archaic, which provides ethical guidance, which teaches the lost art of contemplation, and restores contact with the supernatural without requiring reason to abdicate (cf. pp. 231ff.). Its main features will be polymorphism, nondogmatizing, and it will help clarify the subtle reality of religious experience as expressed in myth and symbol.

This is a book for the scholar or at least the advanced student. It presupposes

the ability to deal in and with advanced ideas. It is not a book for the groping person, but for one who can be objective, who can survey the contemporary scene and assess movements and directions. It might even entrench scepticism in some readers, though its point might still be made by the fact that such entrenchment would probably have a melancholy quality. It is a valuable book for many kinds of purposes.

W. GORDON ROSS

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The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright. Edited by G. ERNEST WRIGHT. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1961. 409 pp. \$7.50.

In an era when Near Eastern linguistic, epigraphic, literary, archaeological, and historical studies have proliferated and developed a complexity comparable to that of the natural sciences in this atomic age, Professor Albright has succeeded in maintaining a catholicity of interest and a scholarly competency which makes him almost without peer in the circles of international Near Eastern and biblical scholarship. Since he has been in the forefront of research in varied areas of oriental studies, it is proper that this volume, which appears in the year of his seventieth birthday, should have as its purpose the description of the course taken by Near Eastern research since World War I.

The following are the essays in the volume: Modern Study of Old Testament Literature (John Bright), Biblical History in Transition (George E. Mendenhall), The Hebrew Language in its Northwest Semitic Background (William J. Moran, S.J.), The Archaeology of Palestine (G. Ernest Wright), The Textual Criticism of the Old Testament (Harry M. Orlinsky), The Development of the Jewish Scripts (Frank M. Cross, Jr.), The Chronology of Israel and the Ancient Near East (David Noel Freedman and Edward F. Campbell, Jr.), South Arabian History and Archaeology (Gus W. Van Beek), Sumerian Literature (Samuel Noah Kramer), Formative Tendencies in Sumerian Religion (Thorkild Jacobsen), Egypt, Its Language and Literature (Thomas O. Lambdin), Egyptian Culture and Religion (John A. Wilson), Hittite and Anatolian Studies (Albrecht Goetze). There are two Appendices (1) an article by Professor Albright on the Role of the Canaanites in the History of Civilization and (2) a twenty-seven-page bibliography of Professor Albright's writings from 1911 through May, 1958, containing more than 1,000 books, articles, and reviews.

A *Festschrift* such as this is difficult to evaluate adequately, for each essay deserves a full-length review. The quality of the contributions is uniformly high. There is fare here for both the informed amateur and the specialist in oriental studies, although a highly technical discussion is sometimes necessitated by the subject. It is the specialist in Jewish palaeography and the Qumran scrolls who will be interested in Frank Cross's discussion of the development of the Jewish scripts, with the seven single-page charts, an example of fine, careful scholarship. Bright's evaluation of the course of biblical criticism over the past thirty-five years highlights the significant trends in the interpretation of the Hexateuch. Mendenhall emphasizes the importance of the patriarchal period as preparation for the creative period of Moses. Wright presents a summary of Palestine's cultural history between ca. 8000-800 B.C., accompanied by nine charts of comparative materials. Jacobsen's perceptive insights into the character of Sumerian religion are of prime importance for understanding the development of anthropomorphism in religion. Kramer surveys the varied literature

of the Sumerians which provided the basis of much of Near Eastern culture, and left its impression even on the Bible. Professor Albright gives to the often neglected Canaanites some of the credit that should be theirs for their contributions to Near Eastern culture, to the Hebrews, and even to the Greeks, and he illuminates particularly the significance of those later Canaanites, the Phoenicians.

The essays not commented on above are no less important. It is enough to say that all the contributions are a worthy tribute of the towering scholar in whose honor the volume has been composed.

HERBERT G. MAY

Professor of Old Testament Language and Literature, Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin.

The Kingdom of Love and the Pride of Life. By EDWARD JOHN CARNELL. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1960. 164 pp. \$3.50.

Basically an essay in apologetics, this book aims to show "how the gospel can further man's search for a happy, integrated life." Acknowledging his indebtedness to Freud and modern psychotherapy and perceptively utilizing their insights, Carnell presents love as a major point of contact between the Christian faith and culture, particularly between the healing power of the gospel and the anxiety and estrangement of man.

Though he insists that Jesus satisfies the demands of the critical intellect, Carnell points out the limitations as well as the rights of science and philosophy, and stresses the trustworthiness of the convictions of the heart. Thus happy children, in their natural zest, simplicity, humility, and unconditional faith know that "a person is good when he is kind and truthful, and that in the end a good person has nothing to fear." Such confidence, which is also the axiom of a decent society, finds fullest meaning in the Christian gospel.

Some readers, while sharing the author's regard for the childlike spirit, will wish that he had stated more carefully the meaning of kindness, truthfulness, and goodness, and thus given the Christian more concrete guidance in the often complicated decisions of daily life. However, he does make plain in his principle of "double fulfillment" that goodness is not equivalent to attainment of the divine law. That person is good who either "spontaneously does the will of God" or "expresses spontaneous sorrow for having failed." Carnell recognizes with Niebuhr the pervasive power of self-love and with Tillich the rootage of self-acceptance in man's prior awareness of his acceptance by God.

Carnell's exposition is often illuminating. However, he unfortunately tends to equate love with the practice of the Golden Rule, thus failing to plumb its full depth. He likewise leaves unexplored the social implications of neighbor-love grounded in the love of God.

The author's Protestant orthodoxy is definitely nonexclusivistic and open toward differing interpretations of Christian truth. He criticizes conservatives for separating the gospel from culture and assuming that everything worth knowing is in the Bible. While opposed to "indifference to right doctrine," he declares that our theological differences show that "we are taking the work of exegesis seriously." He pleads repeatedly for the subordination of doctrine and form to fellowship, and censures various denominational traditions for attempting to make their confessions normative for all. His "fundamentals" are sincere repentance for sin, acceptance of Jesus as

Lord and Savior, and belief in the testimony of prophets and apostles. Where genuine faith and repentance are present, the gospel is at work, and ways to fellowship must be found. Interdenominational conversation is valuable, since it helps Christians to feel the warmth of each other's traditions and reduces the temptation to assume exclusive access to grace and truth.

These are welcome emphases. When a distinguished and respected conservative can write like this, surely there is hope for growing understanding and deepening fellowship among Christians of divergent theological persuasions.

S. PAUL SCHILLING

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God and Caesar in East Germany. By RICHARD W. SOLBERG. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1961. 294 pp. \$4.95.

The struggle for survival which the predominantly Lutheran Church of East Germany has been waging since 1945 is, in the words of Bishop Dibelius, a crucial one not only for that particular Communist-dominated land but for others similarly situated as well. In his opinion, "The decisions in this struggle will be made in Germany." Dr. Solberg of the Augustana College has lived in Germany for five years since 1949. Thus his account is based not only on literary sources but chiefly on personal acquaintance. He presents a detailed account of the gradually developing tragedy. The Evangelical Church of Germany has fortunately become unified, and the eight churches in East Germany thus form an integral part of the whole. Bishop Dibelius of the Church of Berlin-Brandenburg supervised a diocese lying both in West and East Germany.

But despite the constitutional guarantee of freedom of conscience, the Russian-style church-state relations soon began to be introduced: religious instruction in schools was excluded; believing teachers were dismissed; youth was organized into Free German Youth and subjected to systematic atheistic indoctrination; the traditional religious rites of christening, confirmation, and wedding were imitated by forms implying acceptance of the new ideology and order. This is particularly true of the youth dedication (superseding confirmation), without which young people are excluded from higher education and employment. The bishops sternly forbade participation in it on pain of exclusion from the church.

The intrepid leader of the opposition has been Bishop Otto Dibelius, although the other bishops have stood squarely behind him. The regime finally proclaimed in 1958 that the state is atheistic and would use all means to impose its ideology on the people. This amounted to repudiation of the constitutional liberties of religion. The measure produced a division of opinion among the eight bishops of the East German churches, although only one of them showed willingness to co-operate with the regime as far as he could, without going over to the "progressive clergy." This division was strengthened by the opinions of Karl Barth, advising them to accept even the oath of allegiance, and of Helmut Gollwitzer, insisting that atheism is not basic to Communism. Solberg asks, "Does not Karl Barth know what is going on in East Germany?" (p. 280). On the other hand, Dibelius reached the point equally unacceptable to the majority by rejecting obedience to the regime that flouts any notion of responsibility to God. He was not dismayed even at the possibility of a radically reduced church membership to perhaps some 20 per cent of the former total.

There is true heroism in this struggle of a church in a Marxist land, such as is

not, unfortunately, displayed in any other country under Communist rule save perhaps in Poland. But one cannot but pray that the struggle may be really determined by Christian steadfastness and loyalty to the Gospel faith; if not in East Germany, where else could one look for such a decision?

MATTHEW SPINKA

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The Minister's Own Mental Health. Edited by WAYNE E. OATES. Great Neck, New York: Channel Press, 1961. \$4.95.

In refreshing contrast to the plethora of articles in the popular press on the minister's mental health problems, this volume transcends sensationalism and (for the most part) subjective surmise. It presents, in their original form, reports on what constitutes the heart of sound research on the subject.

The book is neither a panacea for pressured pastors nor a ministerial do-it-yourself psychoanalysis. It is a professional research volume with these aims—to present in one place the modest body of literature on the subject, to give some cautious interpretations of these documents, and (hopefully) to stimulate much-needed further research. Editor Oates provides the interpretation with brief, illuminating comments before each section. Readers acquainted with the pastoral care literature will meet a host of familiar authors—e.g., Boisen, Hiltner, Howe, Wise, Tillich.

The thirty articles (fifteen reprinted from *Pastoral Psychology* magazine) are helpfully organized into seven sections: (1) "The Healthy Minister" describes the mentally healthy pastor and some factors which detract from or contribute to this salutary condition. (2) "The Vocational Intention and Inner Stress of the Minister" includes, among others, a fascinating piece by psychoanalyst Gotthard Booth on unconscious motivation in choosing the ministry as vocation. (3) "The Minister's Self-Knowledge and Functional Effectiveness" gives two of sociologist Samuel Blizard's reports on his studies of the self-images and role-conflicts of ministers. (4) Joint reading and discussion by pastors and wives of "The Minister and His Family" could be highly recommended. This section includes a study of the attitudes of 150 ministers' wives toward their husbands as family men. (5) The section on "The Incidence and Kinds of Illness Among Ministers" reveals the scarcity of broad statistical studies of this crucial matter. (6) Jules Masserman's paper on psychiatric screening of prospective missionaries is in the section on "The Selection of Ministers and the Prevention of Mental Illness." (7) "The Re-education and Therapy of the Minister" concludes the book on a note of hope, describing ways of enhancing the minister's sagging mental health. Harry Scholefield's autobiographical account of the impact of his "educative analysis" on his ministry provided, for this reader, the book's most moving pages.

A fruitful approach to the book would be to start with psychologist James Dittes' "Facts and Fantasy in the Minister's Mental Health," an excellent description of what constitutes genuine research. For the reassurance of those who don't get to the book, most of its contributors agree with psychiatrist Daniel Blain that "most ministers have a high degree of mental health."

HOWARD J. CLINEBELL, JR.

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On the Eternal in Man. By MAX SCHELER. Translated by Bernard Noble. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960. 480 pp. \$10.00.

Max Scheler, German philosopher and sociologist of religion and of knowledge, first published *Vom Ewigen in Menschen* in 1921. The present translation is from the fourth German edition, and contains an index, a complete bibliography of Scheler's published work, and some editorial notes by Mrs. Scheler.

Although there are some very important materials for the philosophy of religion between its covers, this is hardly a book for the average student interested in philosophy of religion. Scheler is anything but a systematic thinker. Accordingly his argument is often difficult to follow and very unconvincing.

Most English and American readers, educated by the doubts of the analytic philosophers, will find Scheler's bold, undemonstrated assertions—that, for example, the "religious sphere" is quite as objective as any other sphere of experience—almost incredible. This is partly because instead of beginning with his brilliant analysis of "the religious act" (pp. 246ff.), which is the justification for his whole position, he discusses first many other issues such as the nature of repentance, the moral preconditions of knowledge, the nature of the divine—all of which presuppose the later analysis. Accordingly, I am afraid many readers will put the book down in disgust at what they regard as Scheler's "sheer dogmatism" before they discover that in fact he does have some basis for what he is saying.

The interest of the American reader will lag further when he gets into the long and detailed discussions with other German philosophers. Much of the book is devoted to refutation of Kant, Hegel, Schelling, Schleiermacher, Schopenhauer, Hartmann, Windelband, and others, instead of to direct constructive presentation of Scheler's own position. Though this is, of course, valuable for technical students interested in the details of the thought of these men, for the average reader it will be tedious and somewhat less than relevant. A similar point must be made about the last 100 pages of the book, consisting of two addresses by Scheler on problems of reconstruction arising out of World War I. While these have valuable insights, they will be of great interest only to the Scheler scholar, or to the specialist in European history between 1915 and 1925.

Despite these reservations about Scheler's unsystematic rambling, and about the lack of adequate editing for an English-speaking audience, there is no question that portions of this book will be very significant indeed to anyone interested in problems of metaphysics and philosophy of religion. Unlike much contemporary Protestant theology, Scheler was convinced of the possibility and necessity of a natural theology based on phenomenological analysis of natural religion. His analysis of the nature and validity of the "religious act," as distinct from any finite wishes, needs, or desires of man, goes a long way toward establishing this point, in addition to undercutting all perspectives that psychologize away the significance of religion. The essay on "Repentance and Rebirth" is a fine little example of the possibilities and the value of phenomenological description. However, Scheler, somewhat overenthusiastic for his approach, goes so far as to conclude that the natural reason can clearly perceive the necessity and validity of such specifically Christian (and even Roman Catholic) claims as that man is fallen (p. 231), that God has condescended to enter "the body of the carpenter's wife" (p. 338), and that it is necessary and appropriate that there be an infallible church as God's agent on earth (pp. 342ff.).

There are many other important sections in this book. Thus, Scheler's arguments

against rationalistic conceptions of truth in the name of the historical concreteness of the truth which different sociological groups and periods have apprehended (e.g., pp. 248ff.) is important not only for religious epistemology but for epistemology in general. His provocative interpretation of metaphysics (pp. 98ff.) as concerned centrally with the fundamental question, "Why is there something, not nothing?" has been very influential in subsequent existentialist reconstructions of the nature of metaphysics (e.g., Heidegger, Tillich), and in many respects undercuts the neo-Kantian and positivist criticisms, as well as the rejection of metaphysics by certain theologians.

These and other portions of the book are well worth anyone's careful study. It is most unfortunate that they are buried in such a mass of material whose relevance and importance is not so evident.

GORDON D. KAUFMAN

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The Search for Meaning. By A. J. UNGERSMA. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1961. 188 pp. \$4.75.

This book is an exposition of Victor Frankl's form of existential psychotherapy known as logotherapy. According to Frankl, logotherapy is especially adapted for "noogenic neuroses," those which result from spiritual or moral conflicts. However, we get little light on how these are distinguished clinically from other neuroses, and the implication throughout the book is that logotherapy has an application to all neuroses. Logotherapy is an approach to the rational powers of the patient stressing meaning, responsibility, and values. It leaves the door open to the consideration of religious values, and it is this which makes it of special interest to pastoral counseling.

This is the first systematic presentation of Frankl's concepts in English, and as such has much to commend it. It could have been strengthened by less contrast with early psychoanalysis and more emphasis on modern developments in ego psychology in psychoanalysis. Logotherapy is essentially a kind of ego therapy, an appeal to rational powers as contrasted with analysis of unconscious, irrational aspects of the person. More stress should have been made also on the therapist-patient relationship and on the process of developing the kind of maturity which can deal creatively with meaning and value.

Perhaps Frankl's greatest contribution is his stress on attitudinal values—the kind of experience through which he himself found power to overcome the disastrous experience of a Nazi concentration camp. The ability to accept frustration as limiting rather than as completely destructive of personal values is a mature human quality, not confined to any one school of thought. The relation of this theme to the Christian faith in God's redemptive work, especially in terms of the meaning of the Cross, is not sufficiently emphasized. In general, the perspective of the book is to look at the Christian faith in the light of logotherapy, rather than the reverse. There are some fine insights here, but we would object to describing the work of the pastor as "preventive medicine."

CARROLL A. WISE

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Then and Now: Quaker Essays, Historical and Contemporary. Edited by ANNA BRINTON. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960. 352 pp. \$5.00.

This volume is dedicated to Henry J. Cadbury by members of the Board of the American Friends Service Committee on his completion of twenty-two years as its chairman. The essays by numerous authors concentrate on the past and the present of the Society of Friends, but are greatly widened by the inclusion of studies on the religious life of man, the history and thought of the Christian Church and the contribution of the Society of Friends to it. Each essay is the result of the stimulating impact on the author by Henry J. Cadbury and his enthusiasm for life.

Henry Cadbury has emphasized that the way to present religious history is to include the conflicting points of view. "1652 in History" does just that about the year in which Quakerism began. "Early Friends and the Doctrine of Trinity" speaks of the subject of heated argument between them and their opponents. "Robert Barclay and Joseph John Guernsey" tells of the masterful apology written by Barclay to the theologians in the seventeenth century and of Joseph John Guernsey, spokesman of the nineteenth-century theological controversy, which resulted in the several separations within the Society of Friends. "The Other Branch" tells of the first concerted effort to bring the branches together—an effort in which Henry J. Cadbury participated.

Valuable assistance to future historians is supplied by the chapters on the contents of three Friends Historical Libraries. These include not only Quakeriana but records of organizations and papers of individuals who have worked for peace, prisons, Indians, and other social concerns of Friends.

Henry J. Cadbury has ably demonstrated the ability to turn from one absorbing interest to another and find new strength and enthusiasm thereby. Douglas Steere illuminates the dynamics of this in "The Power of Sustained Attention." "Quakers and the Nobel Prize" takes Cadbury to Stockholm in 1947 to receive the award given jointly to the Friends Service Council of England and the American Friends Service Committee. "The Meeting Place of the World's Great Faiths" points out the grounds for one of the central assertions of the Quakers, "That God the eternal and unchangeable goodness is alive and in the soul of every man." The emphasis on an individual religious experience that results in a vital and central sense of community is basic in the life of the Society of Friends. In "Many Members—One Body" Alexander Purdy examines this and the New Testament's presentation of it. Elizabeth Gray Vining and other Quaker authors add stimulating contributions to the volume.

RUTH CONROW

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Disorders of the Emotional and Spiritual Life. By W. L. NORTHRIDGE. Great Neck, New York: Channel Press, 1961. \$3.00.

The author reveals in this book a comprehensive understanding of human personality, its possibilities, its illnesses, and ways of correction. The rare quality of heart is discovered in the panaceas proffered. A source of Christian faith is evident as the simple habits of prayer, Bible reading and discussion are suggested as means of remedy.

No doubt is left when this book is read that the Christian way is relevant to life

in our day and is applicable to the complex disturbances within human minds. There is offered a comprehensive Christ, able to make the mind well in its totality. Such religion brings health to the emotions and verve to the will. Practical answers are given. Theories are left out. There is a feeling of this person knowing what he is talking about as one reads.

The chapter headings indicate the proffered rewards for reading. Here are some of them: "When You Are Depressed," "The Fear of Old Age," "Our Resentments and Our Health," "Our Jealous Moods," "The Malady of Pride," and "Healing Through Forgiveness." Other titles are just as suggestive. The fourteen chapters will be excellent reading for the discomfited and will help the mature—if such there are—to be of service to the immature.

It is good to read in our day that broken pieces can be put together again, and this by the practice of the Christian way—such as forgiveness, building of faith in God, and prayer.

H. THORNTON FOWLER

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Makers of Religious Freedom in the Seventeenth Century. By MARCUS L. LOANE. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1961. 240 pp. \$4.00.

The Anglican Bishop Coadjutor of Sydney, Australia, provides brief biographies and appreciations of four seventeenth-century evangelicals: the Scottish Alexander Henderson and Samuel Rutherford, and the English John Bunyan and Richard Baxter. Readers who know the author's earlier studies of the evangelical succession at Oxford and Cambridge will not be surprised by his position as reflected in the present work. Dr. Loane is so far an evangelical that one wonders how he persuaded himself to accept consecration to the episcopacy.

That his heroes were brave, honest, and useful men certainly is not to be denied. That three of them deserve to be better known than they are (Bunyan's fame being secure) is perfectly true. That all four were almost always in the right, and their opponents invariably in the wrong, is more debatable. To one reader, at least, it seemeth that the gentleman doth protest too much.

The Civil War in England was a bitter struggle, and it engendered bitterness on both sides. One feels for Rutherford, charged with treason on his very deathbed, and for Bunyan, so long confined in Bedford Gaol. One remembers that the Marquis of Argyll, Sir Archibald Warriston, and James Guthrie suffered martyrdom under Charles II. But there are those who recall also that Henderson and Warriston helped to draft the charges which earlier had led to the execution of Strafford and Laud—and who are not quite so indifferent to the beheading of Charles I as is the Bishop Coadjutor of Sydney.

GEORGE HEDLEY

Chaplain, Mills College.





